

SERIES B - No. 5

LEVELS AND CHAINING IN TELEFOL SENTENCES

by

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PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

The Australian National University

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ALL CORRESPONDENCE concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

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Canberra, A.C.T. 2600.
Australia.

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First published 1966.
Reprinted 1971.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for help in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card number and ISBN 0 85883 038 8

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
0. INTRODUCTION	1
0.1 General	1
0.2 Abbreviations	1
0.3 From Clause to Discourse: A Formulaic Summary	2
1. THE PARATACTIC CHAIN	4
1.1 The Non-Finite Homopersonal Dependent Clause Unit	4
1.2 Linkage by Parataxis	7
1.3 <i>tébe</i> as Subject Marker	8
1.4 Verbs with Special Paratactic Forms	9
2. THE DEPENDENT CHAIN	13
2.1 The Finite Dependent Unit	13
2.2 Finite Dependent Predicates	14
2.3 Linkage by Postclitic	17
2.4 Agreement of Postclitics	21
2.5 Connectives Occurring between Units in a Dependent Chain	22
2.6 A <i>NDCI</i> or <i>FDCI</i> Transform of the Instrument Phrase	23
2.7 Analytical Problems	24
3. THE INDEPENDENT CHAIN	25
3.1 The Independent Unit	25
3.2 A Dependent Construction as Noun Phrase Nucleus	27
3.3 Linkage by Connective	30
3.4 The Connective Phrase	30
3.5 Intra-Chain Agreements and Relationships	36
4. THE SENTENCE	40
4.1 The Sentence Unit and Sentence Chain	40
4.2 Sentence Types	41
4.3 Independent Clausal Sentence Types	43

	<i>Page</i>
4.4 Dependent Clausal Sentence Types	47
4.5 Independent Non-Clausal Sentence Types	49
4.6 The Quote	52
5. THE DISCOURSE	52
5.1 The Oratorical Discourse	53
5.2 The Conversation	56
NOTES	59
BIBLIOGRAPHY	63

LEVELS AND CHAINING IN TELEFOL SENTENCES

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

This paper is the fifth in a series of articles describing the syntax of Telefól.¹ The analytical approach used throughout the series is mainly Longacre's version of Pike's tagmemics, but the terminology of tagmemics has been avoided where possible in the presentation.² In particular, the term UNIT has been used throughout for the significant structural unit of each level of the syntax, rather than the term "tagmeme".

One of the analytical problems faced by those who have developed and used the tagmemic approach has been the identification of LEVELS within the syntactic hierarchy.³ One of the characteristic problem areas in this regard has been the levels above the Clause. In Telefól this area has proved a problem too, which has been solved by positing two levels intermediate between Clause and Sentence. These have been called the PARATACTIC Level and the DEPENDENT Level. Neither of these intermediate levels exhibits the multiplicity of contrastive structures such as is found at the Clause Level and the Sentence Level.

A striking structural feature of each of these levels is the possibility of repetition of a given structural Unit any number of times.⁴ The repeated structural Units in such a sequence are linked together in a way characteristic of the particular level. The sequence as a whole has the same status as each individual Unit plus linkage within it. Such a sequence of repeated Units and linkages has been called a CHAIN.⁵ A minimal Chain consists of one Unit plus its linkage. At each level the Units and the linkages in a Chain exhibit characteristic agreements and correlations the one with the other.

0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

- < > : Pointed brackets signify that the bracketed item is cited to represent all the members of its class
- ± : optional occurrence
- + : obligatory occurrence
- : simultaneous occurrence (intonation only)
- CS: Closing Sentence

<i>DC:</i>	Dependent Chain
<i>DX:</i>	Dependent Construction
<i>EU:</i>	Exclamatory Unit
<i>FDCL:</i>	Finite Dependent Clause Unit
<i>FDU:</i>	Finite Dependent Unit
<i>H:</i>	Head (of Non-Clausal Sentence)
<i>IC:</i>	Independent Chain
<i>ICL:</i>	Independent Clause Unit
<i>In:</i>	Intonation
<i>IU:</i>	Independent Unit
<i>IX:</i>	Independent Construction
<i>Lϕ:</i>	Paratactic linkage
<i>Lc:</i>	Connective linkage
<i>Ld:</i>	Discourse linkage
<i>Lp:</i>	Postclitic linkage
<i>Lt:</i>	Sentence Terminal
<i>n:</i>	(superscript) occurs singly or repeated any number of times
<i>NDCL:</i>	Non-Finite Dependent Clause Unit
<i>OS:</i>	Opening Sentence
<i>PC:</i>	Paratactic Chain
<i>PX:</i>	Paratactic Construction
<i>QS:</i>	Question
<i>RY:</i>	Reply
<i>SC:</i>	Sentence Chain
<i>SU:</i>	Sentence Unit

In formulae, linkages are arbitrarily joined to the preceding Unit by a period instead of a plus (+). However, nowhere are they conceived of as being necessarily joined to or dependent upon the preceding Unit. In fact linkages are equally related to the Units preceding and following them. The notation here used is merely for convenience of representation of a repeating sequence.

0.3 FROM CLAUSE TO DISCOURSE: A FORMULAIC SUMMARY

Table A gives a formulaic summary of the various levels, and the Units and Chains occurring in them. The formulae used in this Table

Table A

LEVEL	Characteristic CHAIN of Units at each Level	CONSTRUCTIONS at each Level	The most characteristic UNITS of each Level: manifested by Constructions from lower Levels
Discourse Level	$SC = \{L_d + SU\}^n$	Two main Discourse Types: (1) $+ OS \pm SC + CS$ (2) Conversations as described in section 5.2	$SU: IX$
Sentence Level	$IC = IU.Lc^n$	Several Sentence Types as described in sections 4.3-4.5. All Independent Clausal Sentences have the shape: $IX = \pm IC + IU.Lt -I_n$	$IU: DX$
Dependent Level	$DC = FDU.L\phi^n$	$DX = \pm DC \pm PC + ICl$	$FDU: PX$ ICl : All of the basic Clause Types (see section 3.1)
Paratactic Level	$PC = NDCI.L\phi^n$	$PX = \pm PC + FDCI$	$NDCI$: 8 of the basic Clause Types (see section 1.1) $FDCI$: 9 of the basic Clause Types (see section 2.1)
Clause Level		10 basic Clause Types and their modifications as described in T.C.S.	Most Predicate Units: Verb Phrase Most Non-Predicate Units: Noun Phrase

are the most simplified possible. They illustrate how the Constructions at one level manifest the Units in the Chain and Constructions at the next level. Table B gives some of the same information in maximally expanded form to show the composition of each Construction and Chain, and to show once again how each Construction occurs in the Units of the next level above. Table C shows the analysis of an expanded Sentence into Constructions at successive levels down to the Paratactic Level. These Tables have been placed at the front of the paper so as to be readily referred back to for comparison, section by section. They will be more meaningful to the reader when the whole paper has been read.

1. THE PARATACTIC CHAIN

1.1 THE NON-FINITE HOMOPERSONAL DEPENDENT CLAUSE UNIT

The repeating Unit in a Paratactic Chain (*PC*) is the non-finite Homopersonal Dependent Clause (*NDCL*).⁶ Any basic Clause Type except Equational and Direct Imperative Quotative may manifest this Unit, although half of all the Clauses in Paratactic Chains are Motion Clauses.⁷ While most of the Clauses in a Paratactic Chain are minimal, that is, composed of a Predicate only, non-predicate clause-level Units may also occur within them. Of these clause-level Units, Object of a Transitive Clause and Destination of a Motion Clause are the most

Table B

$SC =$	$\{ + Ld \pm [\pm (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.Lp)^n \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + ICL.Lc]^n$ $\pm (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.Lp)^n \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + ICL.Lt \text{ --- } In \}^n$
$IX =$	$\pm [\pm (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.Lp)^n \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + ICL.Lc]^n$ $\pm (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.Lp)^n \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + ICL.Lt \text{ --- } In$
$IC =$	$[\pm (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.Lp)^n \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + ICL.Lc]^n$
$DX =$	$\pm (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.Lp)^n \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + ICL$
$DC =$	$(\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.Lp)^n$
$PX =$	$\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL$
$PC =$	$NDCL.L\phi^n$

Table C

Independent Clausal Sentence _____

IC					
PX		IU: DX			
FDCl.Lp		PC		ICl.Lt	
ICl.Lc		NDCl.Lp		ICl.Lc	
ífolu-ta	utámí kútá	kúb'kaá	unítá kalé	únelú	ko
she-	I-saw but	left-it	I-went and	she-ate.	
served					

and brought it (home) I saw that she had cooked it and
 eating it) and went away so she ate it (by herself).'

'When she had harvested (the taro) and brought it (home) I saw that she had cooked it and served it up, but I left (without eating it) and went away so she ate it (by herself).'

Table D

VERB FORM	GENERAL NATURE OF INTERVAL	ENGLISH GLOSSES	
		<i>With punctiliar stem</i>	<i>With continuative stem</i>
stem	minimal or nil	when, after, and	-----
stem + -om	minimal or nil (natural consequence)	when, after, and	-----
stem + -siit	short	soon after	soon after
stem + -som	medium (co-ordinated actions)	and (co-ordinated actions), some time after	while; some time after
stem + -bom	long	(much) later	while; (much) later
stem + -bii	very long (multiple action)	-----	while still, since; a long time later

common. The Subject Unit, if present, occurs only in the first Clause of the Chain. All the Clauses in the Chain, as well as the next Clause following the Chain, have the same subject.

The Predicate of a non-finite Dependent Clause consists of a Verb stem with or without an interval suffix.⁸ This stem is not marked for subject-person, tense, or preview subject (described in section 2.2), although it is in fact always followed in the next Clause by a Predicate having the same subject as itself. It is the most frequently occurring of the possible Homopersonal Dependent forms.

About 80% of the Predicates in a Paratactic Chain are in the punctiliar aspect. Those in the continuative aspect form always contain an interval suffix. The interval suffixes, and their occurrences and meanings with punctiliar and continuative stems, are shown in Table D.

Some Transitive Predicates are prefixed for object. If more than one such prefixed Predicate occurs in a Chain, the prefixes will usually agree in person-number-gender.⁹ In the following examples, the third person feminine prefix is separated from each prefixed Verb by a hyphen:

kw-ééb (NDCI.Ló: get-her) **nóo** (NDCI.Ló: go) **kúb-a' silíib** (ICl: they-buried-her) (DX) 'they took her and buried her'¹⁰

u-ngkwaá (NDCI.Ló: kill-it) **kw-ééb** (NDCI.Ló: get-it) **nóo** (NDCI.Ló: go) **kúb-dii** (NDCI.Ló: hang-it-up) **kúb-' kaánálalé** (FDCL.Lp: he-left-it and) (DC) 'he killed it, took it away, and left it hanging up'

1.2 LINKAGE BY PARATAXIS

There may be any number of Units juxtaposed in a Paratactic Chain, from 1 to 6 having been observed in text. The Paratactic Chain may therefore be represented by the formula:

$$PC = NDCI.L\phi^n$$

where $L\phi$ indicates linkage by parataxis, and n superscript indicates that the whole may be repeated any number of times.¹¹ The type of linkage is indicated following the type of repeating Unit, but separated by a period in the notation. Since at other levels of the grammar the linkages are overt forms, linkage by parataxis has been given a distinctive symbol in formulae.

The end of the Chain is followed by any finite Clause, Dependent or Independent. A Paratactic Chain followed by a finite Dependent Clause constitutes a Paratactic Construction (PX). Such a Chain followed by an Independent Clause, whether finite or non-finite, constitutes a Dependent Construction (DX) or an Independent Construction (IX).

dúb' kaá (NDCI.Ló: leave-it) **tál** (NDCI.Ló: come) (PC) 'leave there'

ang koó (NDCI.Ló: kill-it) **dee fuu** (NDCI.Ló: cook-it) **úne** (NDCI.Ló: eat) (PC) 'kill, cook and eat it'

duúlá (NDCI.Ló: butcher) **kwee fuu** (NDCI.Ló: cook-it) **úne** (NDCI.Ló: eat) (PC) 'butcher it and cook and eat it'

kumen daák ábe (NDCI.Ló: fall down) **koóla tébebú** (ICl: it-smashed) (DX) 'it fell down and smashed'

kúnkéman (NDCI.Ló: become-emaciated) **kaána** (ICl: he-died) (DX) 'he became emaciated and died'

úne (NDCI.Ló: eat) **kúb' kaánálalé** (FDCL.Lp: he-finished-it and) (DC) 'he finished eating...'

úne (NDCI.Ló: eat) **kulaá koóbá** (ICl: he-finished-it) (DX) 'he has finished eating'

noo (NDCI.Ló: go) **deéb** (NDCI.Ló: get-him) **tál** (NDCI.Ló: come) **ábiib daálibta** (FDCL.Lp: they-put-him in the village and) (DC) 'they went and brought him to the village'

... **oó ake** (NDCI.Ló: said ...) **kúb' kaá** (NDCI.Ló: left-it) **weéng telélabii** (NDCI.Ló: fixing-at-length the matter) **kúb' kaá lubilé** (FDCL.Lp: we-finished-it and) (DC) '... we said, and we settled the matter'

koong úmak ungkwaá (NDCL.Ló: kill a pig) **kwééb** (NDCL.Ló: get-it) **tál**
 (NDCL.Ló: come) **beekkim kee ki** (NDCL.Ló: repay) (PC) '(or they)
 kill a pig and bring it in repayment...'

In the sixth and seventh examples above, any Paratactic Chain could substitute for **úne** 'eat'. The punctiliar forms of the Verbs **kub'kaá-kamin**, **kulákamin**, **dúb'kaákamin**, **dulákamin** 'leave-it', 'finish-it' frequently follow a Chain to indicate that a process is completed.¹²

Repetition of clause-level Units does not occur within a single Telefó Clause. To describe a motion, therefore, which involves both a place departed from and a place reached, requires two Clauses linked by parataxis. The first Clause consists of a Motion Clause with the place of departure as Destination Unit; the second Motion Clause contains the place reached as Destination Unit.

beéyó Ilibtaman ilota tál (NDCL.Ló: he came from Eliptamin) **Teléfólam**
tálbá (ICL: he-came to Telefomin) (DX) 'he came to Telefomin from Eliptamin'

Semantically, the Paratactic Chain and the Clause following it represent a sequence of actions by one actor, viewed as occurring in chronological order without interruption. If the stem of the Predicate is punctiliar, indicating a brief action, the time interval between the action of this Clause and the next is indicated by the interval suffix or its absence. If the stem is continuative, indicating a lengthy action, the interval marker indicates how long after the commencement of the action of this Clause the action of the next begins. The first action may still be in progress when the next one interrupts it, or it may be simultaneous with it, or the first action may have already been completed when the next begins. The actions represented by a Paratactic Chain and the Clause following it are usually related to one general topic, and are frequently associated together, often as parts of a single process.

1.3 **tébe** AS SUBJECT MARKER

There is one situation in which a sequence of two Clauses linked by parataxis does not describe two sequential actions as part of a process. The first Clause contains a Subject Unit and the stem **tébe** as Predicate; the second Clause contains other non-predicate Units and a Transitive Predicate. The Object Unit, if present, may occur either in the second Clause or in the first Clause preceding the Subject. Normally **tébe** means 'appeared', 'happened', 'became', but it has little meaning here except as a Subject marker. This sequence is especially likely to occur to mark the Subject Unit where there is a change of subject in the middle of a higher-level Chain, where the previous subject carried through many Clauses. The subject-marking

Predicate may in other circumstances take the form of a finite Homopersonal Dependent Predicate, i.e. **tébe-nal-*<a>-<lé>*** (see section 2.2).

nímí mán íyó únib (FDCL.Lp: my children went away and) **nakálál tébe** (NDCL.Lp: (their)-younger-siblings) **kwee fuub'ée** (NDCL.Lp: cook-it-for-them) **únesilíb** (ICL: they-ate) (DX) 'my children went away and their younger siblings cooked and ate it instead'

fik íyó ... kalaá akenalata boôlé (FDCL.Lp: the elder brother saw that ... and then) **tébe** (NDCL.Lp: (elder brother)) **niing íyó ákelata** (FDCL.Lp: he-scolded the younger brother and) (DC) 'the elder brother saw ... and scolded his younger brother...'

Yéesus tébe (NDCL.Lp: Jesus) **unáng soolé tanúm soó kwiintákáng íyó teléléá ímosá** (ICL: he-healed very many people) (DX) 'Jesus healed a great many people'

1.4 VERBS WITH SPECIAL PARATACTIC FORMS

There are two limited groups among the Transitive Verbs each of which has several special non-finite dependent forms and usages in addition to those shared by all Verbs.

(a) The Verbs for 'get' have two interchangeable sets of special non-benefactive punctiliar stems, one ending in **-ééb ~ -éb** and the other in **-támo**. These occur preceding Motion Verbs (including the two Verbs **toomin** 'put them' and **daákamin** 'put') instead of the more usual non-benefactive punctiliar stems. For example, whereas **kú** is the usual punctiliar stem for 'get her/it', the special forms **kwééb** or **kúbtámo** occur instead if the Predicate of the next Clause is a Motion Verb. When the following Predicate is **télemin** 'come', the overall meaning is 'bring her/it'; when the following Predicate is **únemin** 'go', the overall meaning is 'take her/it'. The **o** of the **-támo** form is elided before **únemin**. These special stem forms have not been observed to take interval suffixes. In this context the usual benefactive punctiliar stems occur; there are no special benefactive equivalents of the **-éb** forms, although there is a rare benefactive equivalent of the **-támo** forms, e.g. **kúbtamob'née** 'get it for me'. There are 7 prefixed 'get' Verbs:

VERB	USUAL PUNCT. STEM	SPECIAL PUNCTILIAR STEMS	MEANING
dúkamin	dú	dééb dúbtámo	'get it/him'
dulúkamin	dulú	duléb ---	'get them'
ímdúkamin	ímdú	ímdéb ímtámo	'get them (human)/you/us'
kámdúkamin	kámdú	kámdéb kámtámo	'get you (singular)
kúkamin	kú	kwééb kúbtámo	'get t/her'
kulúkamin	kulú	kuléb ---	'get them'
námdúkamin	námdú	námdéb námtámo	'get me'

(b) The second group of Transitive Verbs are a morphological class having several special forms not common to other Verbs. They are typified by **dákamin**, **dúkúlantémá** 'pick (fruit)'.¹³ Whereas **dúkú** is the usual punctiliar stem of this Verb, the special form **dákaá** is used whenever it is immediately followed by a 'get' Verb (including **-éb** and **-támo** forms), or a 'remove' Verb derived from a 'get' Verb, when such Verbs are marked for singular object. If these Verbs are marked for plural object, then the usual punctiliar stem **dúkú** precedes them.

In addition to the special forms listed above, certain combinations of these result in fused forms: (i) **dúkú duléb** and **dúkú kuléb** 'pick and get (a plural object)' both become **dákéb**. Similarly, the corresponding benefactives **dúkú dulub'née** and **dúkú kulub'née** 'pick and get them for me' become **dúkúb'née**. There is no contraction for the singular object forms, **dákaá dééb** and **dákaá kwééb**. (ii) **dákaá dúbtámo** and **dákaá kúbtámo** both become **dákkámo** 'pick and get it'. Similarly, the corresponding benefactives **dákaá dúbtamob'née** and **dákaá kúbtamob'née** 'pick and get it for me' become **dákkamob'née**. The meaning of the first Verb in all of these combinations is difficult to make explicit in English translation.

The Verbs of this morphological class are listed below, together with their special and fused forms, their meanings, and their typical objects.

VERB	USUAL PUNCT. STEM	SPECIAL PUNCT. STEM	FUSED FORMS	PLURAL ¹⁴ VERB	MEANING AND OBJECTS	
bákamin	búkú	bákaá	bákéb	---	búkkomin 'chop off (piece of wood) , 'cut off (strip of sewn shells)', 'take out (share of pay or pig, animal from trap, suicide from noose)'	
bálamin	búlú	bálaá	béléb	bíltámo	bíltomin 'push over (tree, rotten stump, ', 'snap off (stalagmite, ochre)'	
bísamin	bísú	bísaá	bíséb	bísatamo	---	'take only part (of heap of taro)', 'grab (stick to hit with)'
dákamin	dúkú	dákaá	dákéb	dákkámo	dúkkomin	'pick (fruit, beans, cucurbits)', 'pick off (dead branch, leech)', 'remove (scaffolding, stone)', 'steal'
dálamin	dúlú	dálaá	déléb	---	díltomin	'take (animal) out of trap', 'take (eggs) out of nest'

VERB	USUAL PUNCT. STEM	SPECIAL PUNCT. STEM	FUSED FORMS		PLURAL ¹⁴ VERB	MEANING AND OBJECTS
dúkamin	dúkú	dúkaá	dúkeb	---	dúkkomin	'pick (mature corn, edible shoots)'
fákamin	fúkú	fákaá	fákéb	fákkámo	fúkkomin	'harvest (taro, any multiple produce)', 'collect (tadpoles, fungi, poles)', 'strip (branches) from log'
fálamín	fúlú	fálaá	féléb	---	fíltomin	'pull (grass) out of swamp', 'pull (belly fat) out of pig', 'get (edible vine leaves)'
ilamin	ilú	---	iléb	---	---	'get (drinking water) in vessel', 'collect, cut (firewood to bring home)'
kálamín	kálú	kálaá	káléb	---	káltomin	'pick (cucurbits, fungi)'
málamín	múlú	málaá	máléb	míltámo	míltomin	'pull out (stone, tooth, banana from bunch)'
sálamín	súlú	sálaá	séléb	---	síltomin	'pinch (person's skin)', 'pinch off (tidbit of pork)'
tákamin	túkú	tákaá	tákéb	tákkámo	túkkomin	'remove (stain, clinging child)', 'unstick (something stuck on)', 'seize (her as a wife)', 'get (cane leaves)'
---	túlú	tálaá	téléb	---	tíltomin	'take down (things hung up)', 'untie (prisoner, pig)'
úkamin	úkú	úkaá	úkéb	úkkámo	úkkomin	'cut piece off (meat, vine, fingernail)', 'trim (posts for house)', 'pick up (bow and arrows)'
úlamín	úlú	úlaá	úléb	últámo	últomin	'select (person, thing)', 'pull out (splinter, stake, newly-planted taro)', 'seize (her as wife)'
undú- umdú-	undú umdú	---	undéb umdéb	---	---	'cut, gather (roofing grass)', 'pick (vegetable greens)', 'harvest and trim (taro)'

The special stems and fused forms of the above Verbs occur only as Predicates in non-finite Dependent Clauses in Paratactic Chains. The following Motion Clause may manifest either a further Unit in the Paratactic Chain, or a following *FDCL* or *ICL* Unit.

In these Transitive Clause + Motion Clause sequences, the Transitive Clause may contain any Transitive Clause non-predicate Units except Location and Manner, but the Motion Clause may contain Destination and Manner only.¹⁵

The following examples are illustrations of Dependent Chains and Constructions containing Paratactic Chains involving some of the special Transitive Verb forms described above.

alíkaab ade (*NDCL.Lp*: tie on a pole whole) **kuléb** (*NDCL.Lp*: get-them) **tílib** (*ICL*: they-came) (*DX*) 'they brought them (home) whole'

alíkaab ade (*NDCL.Lp*: tie on a pole whole) **kúbtámo** (*NDCL.Lp*: get-it) **tílib** (*ICL*: they-came) (*DX*) 'they brought it (home) whole'

mufekmufek úyó dákéb (*NDCL.Lp*²: steal-get the things) **noónalale** (*FDCL.Lp*: he-went and) (*DC*) 'he took away what he had stolen...'

ungkwaá (*NDCL.Lp*: kill-it) **kwééb** (*NDCL.Lp*: get-it) **unómib bá** (*ICL*: they-could-not-go) (*DX*) 'they couldn't have killed it and taken it away'

kuléb (*NDCL.Lp*: get-them) **meéng ée találé** (*FDCL.Lp*: he-came along-here) (*DC*) 'he accepted them and brought them here'

deel dákéb (*NDCL.Lp*²: remove-get the throat) **daák unuta** (*FDCL.Lp*: it-goes down and) **kulúlubta** (*FDCL.Lp*: let-us-sing and) (*DC*) 'let us sing it in a lower key...'

kwééb (*NDCL.Lp*: get-it) **mitám abiín toonilibilé** (*FDCL.Lp*: they-put-her on the floor inside and) (*DC*) 'they (can) put her on the floor inside...'

koong tálaá (*NDCL.Lp*: release the pig) **kwééb** (*NDCL.Lp*: get-it) **únánbiyáng Nínib bifl yángnúlulé** (*FDCL.Lp*: she-went way-along to Ninip Hills and) (*DC*) 'she released the pig and took it way along to Ninip Hills...'

tákaá (*NDCL.Lp*: seize) **kwééb** (*NDCL.Lp*: get-her) **unálé** (*FDCL.Lp*: he-went and) (*DC*) 'he seized her and took her away...' 'he abducted her'

kalél Ũngdibén boóyó úlaá (*NDCL.Lp*: seize-(back) (my)-wife Unggiben) **kwééb** (*NDCL.Lp*: get-her) **únbí** (*ICL*: I-went) (*DX*) 'I seized my wife Unggiben back and took her away'

2. THE DEPENDENT CHAIN

2.1 THE FINITE DEPENDENT UNIT

The repeating Unit in a Dependent Chain is a Finite Dependent Unit (*FDU*), manifested by a Paratactic Construction (*PX*) consisting of a Finite Dependent Clause (*FDCL*), or a Paratactic Chain followed by a Finite Dependent Clause. The Paratactic Construction may therefore be represented by the formula:

$$PX = \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL$$

or by the simplified formula:

$$PX = \pm PC + FDCL$$

Any basic Clause Type except Direct Imperative Quotative may manifest a Finite Dependent Clause, although the Equational Type has very rarely been observed there, and when it has been observed to occur, only the one postclitic *-ta* has followed.⁷

The Dependent Chain of Finite Dependent Units may be of considerable length, and is followed by any Independent Clause (*ICL*), optionally preceded by a Paratactic Chain. This Dependent Chain consists of either Homopersonal or Heteropersonal Dependent Units, or both. Homopersonal ones are more frequent. The Dependent Chain may be represented by the following progressively simplified formulae:

$$\begin{aligned} DC &= (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.L\phi)^n \\ &= (\pm PC + FDCL.L\phi)^n \\ &= FDU.L\phi^n \end{aligned}$$

Lp represents a class of POSTCLITICS, consisting of *-ta*, *-ilé* and *-tiyé*, which link the Finite Dependent Units in a Dependent Chain. As before, *n* indicates that the whole construction may be repeated any number of times. In text, from 1 to 8 Finite Dependent Units have been observed in a single Chain. Finite Dependent Units are infrequently, and in certain special circumstances, linked by parataxis instead of one of the above postclitics. But for convenience the linkage at this level has been summarized as *Lp*.

In the following examples and hereafter the postclitics have been separated from the Predicate of the Clause by a hyphen.

kaanu-ta (*FDCL.Lp*: she-died and) **kwééb nóo kúbanilib-ilé** (*FDU.Lp*: get-her go they-buried-her and) **alukum keékkék iyó bókonilib-ilé** (*FDCL.Lp*: everyone around said and)... **oó akenilib-ta** (*FDCL.Lp*: they-said... and) (*DC*) 'she died, they took her and buried her, and everyone around said...'

weéng úyó seéngānu-lé boólé (*FDCL.Lp*: the gossip gets-around and then) **kanum unómnilib-ilé** (*FDCL.Lp*: they-keep-on-doing and) **káábman iyó tébenalá-lé** (*FDCL.Lp*: the government and) **ilámí bóólis booe iyó**

fmdála (*FDCl.Lp*: he-sends his policemen) **tálnilib-ilé** (*FDCl.Lp*: they-come and) **nfmdéb daák daálib-ilé** (*Fdu.Lp*: get-me go-down they-put-(me) and) **ookok keemantémf** (*ICl*: I-will-work) (*DX*) 'the gossip will get around, and they will keep gossiping, and the government will send policemen to come and take me down there and I'll have to work'

daáknála-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: he-went-down and) **bákaá kwééb mitám ám daála-ta** (*Fdu.Lp*: untie get-her come-here he-put her in the house and) **weéng kwaálib** (*FDCl.Lp*: they-sent word) **tée meet dóokta ábiib támu-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: it-arrived up at the hospital and) **imák téé yák-ká** (*FDCl.Lp*: the husband went-across and) **ade kwééb téé meet daálib-ta** (*Fdu.Lp*: tie-on-pole get-her come-up they-put-her and) **bám dáásuu** (*ICl*: she-recovered) (*DX*) 'he went down and untied her, and brought her and put her in the house, and sent word up to the hospital, and her husband went across, and they tied her on a pole and carried her up, and she recovered'

2.2 FINITE DEPENDENT PREDICATES

2.2.1 HOMOPERSONAL AND HETEROPERSONAL DEPENDENT PREDICATES

One type of Predicate of the Finite Dependent Clause has the morphological shape:

		subject		
+	stem	± interval	+	subject
		suffix	+	preview
				suffix
				suffix

The INTERVAL SUFFIXES are the same as for the non-finite Dependent Clause in section 1.1 above. All of these suffixes co-occur with the homopersonal subject preview suffix. However, only **-bom** 'and some time later' and **-bii** 'and a long time later' co-occur with the heteropersonal subject preview suffixes.

The SUBJECT PREVIEW SUFFIXES indicate whether the subject of the next following Clause is HOMOPERSONAL - the same as that of the present Clause, or HETEROPERSONAL - different from that of the present Clause. They are as follows:

Homopersonal: **-nVl**

Heteropersonal: **-'bVl, -'sVl, -'kVl**

V represents the same vowel as that of the following subject person suffix. The suffix **-'bVl** indicates a longer interval than the suffix **-'sVl** when, and only when, the interval suffix **-bom** precedes each of these preview suffixes. An interval suffix does not precede the rarer heteropersonal suffix **-'kVl**.

The SUBJECT SUFFIXES are those of Set A: **-í** 'I', **-áb** 'you' (sing.), **-á** 'he/it', **-ú** 'she/it', **-úb** 'we', **-íb** 'you' (pl.)/'they'.¹⁶

... **oó akan-bi-nal-a-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: ... thinking-while/still-homopersonal-he and) **koong ung kulála** (*Fdu.Lp*: kill a pig he-sent-it) (*DC*)

'while he was thinking... he killed a pig'

títám bee-'bal-á-tá (FDCL.Lp: go-inside remove-heteropersonal-he and)
Saáleben útá atámu-ta (FDCL.Lp: Saleben saw-him and) (DC) 'he
 went inside and while he was removing things Saleben spotted him'

itá-bom-'bil-í-tá (FDCL.Lp: saw-later-heteropersonal-I and) **dúbalib**
 (FDCL.Lp. they-buried-him) **támsii** (ICL: I-saw) (DX) 'I watched
 them and I saw them bury him'

kúbáke-'sul-ú-tá (FDCL.Lp: scold/her-heteropersonal-she and)
daák-núl-u-ta (FDCL.Lp: go/down-homopersonal-she and) **muun kal sook**
ungkwaá koólu-ta (FDCL.Lp: she-was-killed by rope in an old garden)¹⁷
 (DC) '(the woman) scolded her, so she went down and hung herself in
 an old garden'

Where the homopersonal suffix **-nVI** occurs, there is usually AGREE-
 MENT of the subject-person suffix following **-nVI** and the subject-
 person suffix of the Predicate of the next finite Clause. However,
 where the subjects in two consecutive finite Clauses are different,
 the first being plural and the actor(s) of the second being included
 among the actors of the first, the Predicate of the first Clause is
 marked by **-nVI**

sina' nákbílib nala-lé (FDCL.Lp: they-were-sleeping and) **tám aáláb íyó**
ímáníláng díkin uná-lé (FDU.Lp: then his father went to work in the
 garden and) (DC) 'they were sleeping (there), and his father went
 to work in the garden'

únánbiyáng Níníb bíl yágnílib-ilé (FDCL.Lp: they-went-along to Ninip
 Hills and) **tám Átuben imák íyó bókonala-lé** (FDCL.Lp: then Atuben's
 husband said... and) (DC) 'they went along to Ninip Hills and
 Atuben's husband said...'

There are a few other situations in which a Homopersonal Dependent
 Clause is followed by a Clause with a different subject. In all these
 situations the second Clause terminates with a Predicate having a
 third person feminine singular subject suffix used in a non-personal
 sense. For example,

(a) The second Clause has a benefactive Predicate signifying a
 psychological or physical state. In these cases the subject suffix of
 the Predicate in the first Clause agrees with the beneficiary affix of
 the Predicate in the second Clause.

tínángkúnála-lé (FDCL.Lp. he-heard and) **ímí aketem úyó máfákaneb' mú**
 (ICL: his mind was-sad-for-him) (DX) 'when he heard it he was
 sad'

daám boóyó fákánbinala-ta (FDCL.Lp: he-was-making the fence and) **daál**
tebeb' éebú (ICL: tiredness happened-to-him) (DX) 'he got tired of
 fencing'

seéb kál bisób biinala-ta (*NDCl.Lp*: he-was in the bush without food and) **ímán téeb tebeb'éebug** (*ICl*: hunger happened-to-him) (*DX*) 'he was in the bush for some time without food, and he became hungry'

(b) The action of the second Clause is really initiated by the person represented by the subject of the first Clause.

tálnála-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: he-came and) **sook ang koólu** (*FDCl.Lp*: rope killed-him) **kaánsé** (*ICl*: he-died) (*DX*) 'he came and committed suicide and he died'

kúnála (*FDCl.Lp*: he-gets-it) **félet diim ínú** (*FDCl.Lp*: it-goes on a plate) **ífo kóób'éesá** (*IU*: served he-gave-it-to-her) (*DX*) 'he served it to her on a plate'

... **kalaá akenala-lé** (*FDCl.Lp*: he-saw that... and) **ookét téem ínú** (*FDCl.Lp*: it-went in a gourd) **ook úyó flú kóób'éeelá** (*IU*: get water he-gave-it-to-her) (*DX*) 'he saw that... so he gave her a drink of water in a gourd'

2.22 NEUTRAL TENSE FORM AS DEPENDENT PREDICATE

Another type of Predicate of the Finite Dependent Clause occurs only when the subject of the next Clause is different. There is, however, no heteropersonal preview suffix in the morphology of this type of Predicate. It consists of the neutral tense form of the Verb, which contains only a stem and a Set A subject-person suffix, with its final UP toneme depressed to DOWN.¹⁸ In an Independent Clause, the neutral tense continuative form means 'immediate future', while the neutral tense punctiliar form means 'immediate past'.¹⁹ But as a Heteropersonal Dependent Predicate, both forms are tenseless and interval is unspecified (as contrasted with the forms containing <-'bVI>, which may have an interval suffix).

baasal fyó kí siin til-ib-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: my-brothers-in-law come quickly and) **bokob'éeel-i-lé** (*FDCl.Lp*: I-tell-them and) (*DC*) 'my brothers-in-law (must) come quickly and I'll tell them...'

bókol-a-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: he-told and) **noo dééb tál daál-ib-ta** (*Fdu.Lp*: go get-him come they-put-him and) (*DC*) 'he told them and they went and brought him back...'

tál waáfúl-a-lé (*Fdu.Lp*: come he-grabbed-her and) **oólán duléb tub-u-lé** (*FDCl.Lp*: she-called-out-at-length and) **bílii tab-a-lé** (*FDCl.Lp*: he-ran-away and) (*DC*) 'he came and grabbed her, and she screamed, and he ran away'

2.23 A PROBLEM DEPENDENT PREDICATE

A third type of Predicate is tentatively included here, though it is in fact a Homopersonal Non-Finite Dependent Predicate. It consists

only of a Verb stem + interval suffix, and it is linked into the Dependent Chain by the postclitic **-ta**. It is not skipped for purposes of linkage agreement (see section 2.4) as is the *NDCl*, the Unit of the Paratactic Chain.

fítom teheb'éelu-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: shame happens-to-him and) **tál-tá** (*FDCl.Lp*: comes)... **oó akanbinala-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: ... he-is-thinking-over-and-over and) (*DC*) 'he is ashamed, and comes, and is thinking...'

tée daák-ká (*FDCl.Lp*: went-down and) **ade kwééb téé meet daálib-ta** (*FDU.Lp*: tie-to-pole get-her go-up they-put and) (*DC*) 'they went down and tied her on a pole and brought her up'

ítá tál atáma-ta (*FDU.Lp*: he came saw-him and) **bákaá dáá-tá** (*FDU.Lp*: untie send-him and) **dééb nóo dúba'silíb** (*FDU.Lp*: get-him go they-buried-him) (*DC*) 'he came and found him, and they untied him and took him and buried him'

bákaá dáá dúb'kaá-tá (*FDU.Lp*: untie send-him leave-it and) **daáke tál-tá** (*FDCl.Lp*: come back and) **bókola-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: he-told and) (*DC*) 'he untied him completely, and came back and told...'

2.3 LINKAGE BY POSTCLITIC

The linkage in a Dependent Chain is usually marked by a postclitic (*Lp*) suffixed to the Predicate of each Finite Dependent Clause. There are three such postclitics: **-ta** (~ **-ka** following velar consonants), **-ilé** (~ **-lé** following a vowel), and **-tiyé**. All of these signal a sequence of events in chronological order, but the events are not necessarily related as integral parts of a single process as they are in the Paratactic Chain. They may represent a miscellaneous sequence of events not intrinsically related to each other.

2.31 The POSTCLITIC **-ta** occurs with more than half of all Finite Dependent Units. It represents sequential action in chronological order, often with an implication of cause-and-effect. Perhaps the following continuum of meanings could be attributed to **-ta**: 'after' (with previous Clause), 'then', 'and', 'and so', 'so', 'so that', 'because' (with previous Clause), and 'therefore'. However, in many examples there does not seem to be any contrast in meaning between the linkages **-ta**, **-ilé**, and absence of linkage in the same environment. Many of the examples already listed in section 2 illustrate the general sequential usage of **-ta**. The following illustrate the cause-and-effect usage.²⁰

ákán' bílib-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: they-scolded-him so) **daák íiná** (*ICl*: he-went away) (*DX*) 'they scolded him, so he's gone away'

mán íyó oókén dúb'kaá seéb unú-tá (*FDU.Lp*: the mother left the child she-went to the bush so) **ámánbe** (*ICl*: he-is-crying) (*DX*) 'the child's mother left him and went to the bush so he's crying'

ímán téeb tebeb'ée' bulú-tá (FDCl.Lp: hunger happened-to-him so) **fuube**
(ICl: he-is-cooking) (DX) 'he's cooking because he's hungry'

One particular usage of **-ta** is as linkage between a Desiderative Quotative Clause as purpose and any action Clause as Associated Clause of consequence.²¹ Unlike the Associate Clause of the other Quotative Clause Sub-Types, the Associate of the Purposive sub-type of the Desiderative usually follows its Quotative Clause, as this is the chronological order of the events described in the two Clauses. It should be noted that the subject of the Quotative Clause and of the Associated Clause is always the same in this purpose-consequence sequence. The subject within the Quote may be different, however.

níyó tál weéng bákamán óo ake-ta (FDCl.Lp: said "I'll come and talk" and) **tílí** (ICl: I-came) (DX) 'I've come to talk'

tál únáng'kolón óo akenala-ta (FDCl.Lp: "I'll come and eat" he-said and) **tálá** (ICl: he-came) (DX) 'he came to eat'

mán ítá únélín oó ake-ta (FDCl.Lp: "the children may-eat" said and) **fuu'éeibii** (ICl: I-am-cooking-for-them) (DX) 'I'm cooking it for the children to eat'

feen' sili weéb úyó bínímanú kalaá akenili-ta wífwak unón óo akenala-ta
(FDCl.Lp: "I'll-wait 'the rain is finished' I'll-see and I'll-go to Wewak" he-says and) **feenbe** (ICl: he-is-waiting) (DX) 'he's waiting in case the rain stops and he can go to Wewak'

mán beé aa'bili-ta (FDCl.Lp: I-am-hitting the child and) **dákaá kúlák óo ake-ta** (FDCl.Lp: "he-may-learn" said and) **anbii** (ICl: I-am-hitting-him) (DX) 'I am hitting the child so he will learn'

2.32 The POSTCLITIC **-ilé** occurs with less than one-quarter of all Finite Dependent Units. In most of its occurrences it does not contrast with **-ta** in meaning, and in many of them it seems to be interchangeable with **-ta**. In these occurrences it represents sequential action in chronological order. But with **-ilé** there is no implication of cause-and-effect, and part of its distribution is different from that of **-ta**. Furthermore, in two situations **-ilé** has no chronological sequence implications.

Firstly, it occurs as the obligatory part of the linkage between coordinated Dependent Clauses which form a complex Adjunct before the Verb **keemin**.²² It may optionally be followed by the Connective **mínte** 'and', and the whole Clause sequence may optionally be followed by the Phrase Modifier **noo** 'also'. This Dependent Construction terminates in an unusual way. If the Clauses in the Construction are homopersonal, the last Clause is non-finite, and has one of the interval markers **-bom** or **-som**, here meaning 'for some time'. If the Clauses in the Construction are heteropersonal, the last Clause is finite, and marked by the heteropersonal preview suffix **-'bvl**. The whole is concluded

by a form of the Verb **keemin** 'do', which summarizes in tense and subject-person the actions or states and subject-persons involved in the whole Construction. This usage of **-ilé ± mínte** closely parallels its co-ordinating function in Noun Phrases.²³ In this context, the meaning is simultaneous action ('while ...') or merely a timeless assortment of actions in co-ordinate relationship to one another because of the relationship of all of them to something else.

weéng bákabomnulu-lé (*FDCl.Lp*: she-is-talking and) **meén sóok fákabom noo** (*NDCI.Ló*: making twine also) **keebo** (*ICl*: she-is-doing) (*DX*)
'she is talking while she makes twine'

weéng báka' balá-lé mínte (*FDCl.Lp*: he-is-talking and) **meén sóok fáka' bulú nóo** (*FDCl*: she-is-making twine also) **kee' bilíb** (*ICl*: they-are-doing) (*DX*) 'he is talking while she is making twine'

Secondly, **-ilé** frequently occurs as the linkage between a Saying Quotative Clause and its Associated Clause, where the two Clauses are in an apposition relationship to each other.²¹ The Associated Clause is semantically a reiteration or amplification of the Quotative Clause. It most frequently precedes the Quotative Clause, in which case it acts as a marker of the beginning of the Quote. This linkage may also be manifested by **-ta**, but much less frequently. Just a few Verbs manifest the Predicate of the Associated Clause of the Saying Quotative, notably **bákamin** 'talk', 'tell', **dákákamin** 'ask', and **fúkúnin** 'think'.

maakub dákálá dákálá keebomnilib-ilé (*FDCl.Lp*: each one they-each-were-asking and) **boó náka bá yoó akéla akéla kee' bilíb-ilé** (*FDCl.Lp*: "It is not me" they-each-were-saying and) (*DC*) 'each of them asked, "It is not me, is it?"...'

bókonala-lé (*FDCl.Lp*: he-said and) **tísol fákaa' neebomnilib-ilé mínte koong ung koob' née noo keélín óo akela-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: "You gather valuables and kill a pig for me" he-said and) (*DC*) ' "You gather valuables and kill a pig to compensate me," he said...'

ímí kalél úyó tám bókonala-lé (*FDCl.Lp*: he-said to his wife and) **taláb ákám káyaam fákán unúm oó akela-lé** (*FDCl.Lp*: "Let us go hunting with the dog" he-said and) (*DC*) ' "Let's go hunting with the dog," he said to his wife...'

nakal bokob' éeli-lé (*FDCl.Lp*: I-say-to-them and) **beekkim keélín óo ake-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: "You pay compensation" say and) (*DC*) 'I'll tell them to pay compensation'

unàng úyó úmí aket fúkúnsitnulu-lé (*FDCl.Lp*: the woman was-thinking and) **níyó noonili-ta ise beéyó teléla námolák óo akenulu-lé kímín** (*FDCl.Lp*: "I'll go and he'll heal me" she-said and) (*DC*) 'the woman was thinking, "I'll go and he'll heal me,"...'

2.33 The POSTCLITIC **-tiyé** occurs as linkage between the Perceptive Quotative Clause and its preceding Clause, and rarely elsewhere. It does not manifest several successive linkages in a single Dependent Chain as **-ta** and **-ilé** often do, though it may occur singly here and there in a long Chain elsewhere linked by **-ta**. The preceding Clause is often an Associated Clause similar to the one described above in that it is semantically a reiteration or amplification of the Quotative Clause, and that just a few Verbs manifest its Predicate. The commonest are **utámanin** 'see', 'know', 'feel', **tinángkamin** 'hear', 'know', and **feenin** 'wait, watch for'. The postclitic **-ta** occurs almost as often as **-tiyé** in these circumstances. For some reason, although the two Clauses have the same subject, the Clause followed by **-tiyé** or **-ta** in this context is usually in the neutral tense form. This form elsewhere indicates a change of subject (see section 2.22). The only other form observed with **-tiyé** is the non-finite homopersonal dependent form (see section 2.23).²⁴

utámab-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: you-see-it and) **ámon amon keebe kalaá akenalab-ta**
(FDCL.Lp: "He is ignorant" you-see and) (DC) 'you see that he is ignorant'

núyó utámub-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: we see-it and) **íyó áséng máfak úyó kulúlíb**
kalaá akenulub-ilé (FDCL.Lp: "they sing bad songs" we-see and)
(DC) 'we hear them sing bad songs'

yákál utáma-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: he saw-it and) **weéng úyó bákán kwééb uná**
talá keebom seéngánú kalaá akenala-ta (FDCL.Lp: "the gossiping is increasing" he-saw) (DC) 'he realized that everyone was gossiping about it'

tinángkulu-tiyé (FDCL.Lp: she-heard and) **beétá unáng áa tanúm áa ítá**
telélá ímo yákák keem' nákbé kalaá akenulu-lé (FDCL.Lp: "he is healing-all-the-time men and women" she-saw and) (DC) 'she had heard how he was healing people all the time'

2.34 In quite restricted circumstances, a Finite Dependent Unit may be linked into its Chain by parataxis. PARATACTIC LINKAGE between Finite Dependent Clauses is characteristic of a Chain which is included within a Noun Phrase manifesting a clause-level Unit, marked at its terminal by a Pronoun <úyó> as Person, or by **umdií**, **namdé** 'if'.²⁵ For some speakers, though not for others, it occurs within a Quote. In all of these cases, it especially occurs as the linkage between the last Clause of the Dependent Chain and the Independent Clause which follows the Chain.

tanúm máak saanin am dalátá koónála (FDCL.Lp: a man broke into the store) **sook ang koósuu** (ICL: he-was-hung by rope) **úmí sâng** (its account) 'an account of how a man broke into the store and hung himself'

káábman noo Teléfólmiín kúlintem boóm' balá (*FDU Lp.* the government had not yet come and taken over the Telefolmin people) **Teléfólmiín yák kukuúb mafak waáfúbí' silib** (*ICl:* the Telefolmin held a bad custom) **úmí sâng** (its account) 'an account of a bad custom the Telefolmin people had before the government came and took them over'

tanúm máak tébe taabálaséb unáng máak dábák koob'ée' boóm' balá (*FDU Lp:* a man chased a European girl) **íse dábák koob'ée' sulub** (*ICl:* we-chased him) **úmí sâng** (its account) 'an account of how a man chased a European girl and we chased him'

The neutral tense form as Dependent Predicate sometimes occurs with paratactic linkage to the following Clause. In this case, it is very closely linked to the Predicate in the following Clause. In the case of **kwáál<a>** and **dáál<a>** 'he' sent, threw, rolled, pushed it away...', for example, it is usual for a Motion Clause to follow, and for its subject to be the object of the first Clause.

kwáálab (*FDCl.Lp:* you-throw-it) **únúk** (*ICl:* it-must-go) (*DX*) 'you throw it away'

kwáála (*FDCl.Lp.* he-threw-it) **meet ínú** (*ICl:* it-went up) (*DX*) 'he threw it up there'

koong kwaab' námu (*FDCl.Lp:* she-sent-to-me the pig) **túlú** (*ICl:* it-came) (*DX*) 'she sent the pig to me'

koong kwaab' káma (*FDCl.Lp:* he-sent-to-you the pig) **únú** (*ICl:* it-went) (*DX*) 'he sent the pig to you'

Similar close collocations in which the second Clause is not obligatory to the first include the following:

máfákanu (*FDCl.Lp:* it-deteriorated) **kulálá** (*ICl:* he-stopped-it) (*DX*) 'he is satiated'

kubakánu (*FDCl.Lp:* it-is-less) **kúb'kaálá** (*ICl:* he-left-it) (*DX*) 'he ignored it'

ung koóla (*FDCl.Lp:* he-hit-it) **kaansuu** (*ICl:* it-died) (*DX*) 'he killed it'

In all the above examples the linkage Unit is marked as *Lp*, the characteristic linkage at this level, despite the fact that the actual linkage in these few situations is parataxis.

2.4 AGREEMENT OF POSTCLITICS

Within a single Dependent Chain there tends to be agreement of the postclitics, that is, there tends to be a sequence of linkages all marked by the postclitic **-ilé**, or all marked by the postclitic **-ta** and **-tiyé**, or all marked by parataxis as in the inclusion examples of section 2.34 above. This agreement skips over any Paratactic Chains

which might happen to be contained in the Finite Dependent Units comprising the Dependent Chain. Paratactic Chains do not affect their environment. The examples of section 2.1 and section 2.2 illustrate Chain linkage agreement.

Unlike the non-finite Clause in a Paratactic Chain, the non-finite Clause followed by the postclitic **-ta** described and illustrated in section 2.23 above usually occurs in a Chain involving Finite Dependent Units linked by **-ta**. This non-finite Clause may be preceded and/or followed by a Paratactic Chain, which, of course, consists of non-finite Clauses without postclitic linkage. Non-finite Clause followed by **-ta** is problematical, and because of the linkage (*Lp*) agreement it has been tentatively assigned the same status as a Finite Dependent Clause. For the present it, with its preceding Paratactic Chain, if any, is regarded as the equivalent of a Paratactic Construction, and the *PC* which follows it is regarded as part of the next Paratactic Construction.

Sentence Terminals (*Lt*; see section 4.2) attract the postclitic **-ta**. The last Clause of a Dependent Chain which is followed by an Independent Clause (*ICl*) and a Sentence Terminal is therefore most frequently followed by **-ta**. The postclitic **-ilé** rarely occurs in that position.

The Connective **mínte** 'and', 'in addition' tends to be preceded by the postclitic **-ilé**. The postclitic **-ta** does occur before **mínte**, but comparatively rarely.

Where two successive Dependent Units are followed by different postclitics, the Connective **boôlé** 'then', 'next' usually occurs between them.

2.5 CONNECTIVES OCCURRING BETWEEN UNITS IN A DEPENDENT CHAIN

The Connectives **boôlé** 'then', 'next' and **mínte** 'and', 'in addition', 'but' sometimes occur between the Units in a Dependent Chain. They do not themselves constitute the linkage, as Connectives do in an Independent Chain (see section 3). Their function is to modify slightly the semantic force of the postclitics.

One function of **boôlé** has been described in section 2.4 above, where it separates Dependent Units followed by different postclitics. Elsewhere it seems to emphasize consecutiveness of actions.

kee' bulu-ta boôlé (*FDCl.Lp*: it-happened and then) **tanúm deéngmítkaI**
íyó alúkum bínímanbú (*ICl*: a great many men were-finished) (*DX*)
 'this happened, and a great many men were destroyed'

iibmakmak ítá koong fám úne kulánílib-ta boôlé (*FDU.Lp*: a few ate the funeral feast finished-it and then) **síkínbii kóosíb** (*ICl*: they-dispersed) (*DX*) 'only a few ate the funeral feast, then dispersed'

bílii tabá-lé boôlé (*FDCl.Lp*: he-ran-away and then) **unáng boómí oókén**
úyó tébelú-tá boôlé (*FDCl.Lp*: the girl's mother appeared and then)

káláleng bísáá dééb at koom foóká' boóm' bulú-lé (*FDU.Lp*: took-one knife got-it she-chased-him and) (*DC*) 'he ran away, then the girl's mother came along, grabbed a knife, and chased him'

bákán kwééb uná talá kee' bilib-ta boôlé (*FDCI.Lp*: they-were-gossiping and then) **yákál utáma-tiyé** (*FDCI.Lp*: he-also saw-it and) ... **kalaá akenala-ta boôlé** (*FDCI.Lp*: ... he-saw and then) ... **oó akenala-ta boôlé** (*FDCI.Lp*: ... he-wondered and then) **ímí aketem úyó máfákaneb' -mû-ta boôlé** (*FDCI.Lp*: his thoughts deteriorated-on-him and then) **yáng-ká** (*FDCI.Lp*: went-and) (*DC*) 'they were gossiping, then he too realized that..., and he wondered..., and then he became depressed and went...'

mínte 'and', 'in addition', 'but', frequently following **-ilé**, indicates a relationship between Dependent Units that is co-ordinate or paired or parallel. Sometimes it is used between a reiteration and its original.

talá lé mínte (*FDCI.Lp*: he-came and and) **weéng úyó bokob' éenili lé** (*FDCI.Lp*: I-told-him and) (*DC*) 'he came and I said to him...'

ake' boóm' salá-tá mínte (*FDCI.Lp*: he-said-and-afterwards and) **boómí eém kálan fik ítá bókonala-ta** (*FDCI.Lp*: his-elder-brother talked about the marita-fruit and) (*DC*) 'he said... and afterwards his elder brother scolded him about the marita-fruit...'

ang koósuu koo akenalab-ilé mínte aá (*FDCI.Lp*: you-tell about his hanging himself and and and) **maak ímí úkól múnkúb íse umí kálan útá kanum unómnála-ta koo akenalab-ilé mínte** (*FDCI.Lp*: similarly you-tell what the reason was for the others doing so and and) (*DC*) 'tell about his hanging himself and similarly what the reason was for the others doing so...'

kamókím ísiik weéng bákánbii kúb' kaála-lé mínte (*FDU.Lp*: the headman spoke-at-length first he-stopped and and) **ólóbénengaal ísiik bákánbii kúb' kaála-lé mínte** (*FDU.Lp*: Olobenengal spoke-at-length next he-stopped and and) **Tanúmtélengaal ítá bákánbe** (*ICL*: Tanumtelengal is-speaking) (*DX*) 'first the headman spoke, then Olobenengal spoke, and now Tanumtelengal is speaking'

The special usage of **-ile ± mínte** to indicate simultaneous action has already been described in section 2.32 above.

2.6 A *NDCI* OR *FDCI* TRANSFORM OF THE INSTRUMENT PHRASE

The Instrument Phrase is a Noun Phrase with an obligatorily possessed head Noun **tuub** 'with'. The Possessor is the semantic instrument. The Instrument Phrase occurs in the clause-level Manner Unit.²⁶ This + Possessor + Noun Head construction (e.g. **sakaál túub** 'with (his) hands') may be transformed to a Dependent Transitive Clause. The Possessor of the Phrase is the Object of the Clause, and the head

Noun **tuub** 'with' is replaced by a punctiliar dependent form of the Transitive Verb **kúkamin** 'get-it' (e.g. **sakaál kúnála-ta** 'he-got (his)-hands and' or 'with his hands').

kaábák túub ung koólá (ICl) -----> **kaábák kú (NDCl.Lp) ung koólá (ICl)** or **kaábák kúnála-ta (FDCl.Lp) ung koólá (ICl)** (DX) 'he hit it with an axe'

at koón boóyó íntabén túub fákamin (ICl) -----> **íntabén kú-tá (FDCl.Lp) at koón boóyó fákamin (ICl)** (DX) 'what does one break off leaves with'

kábó koong boó íntabén túub moóbáb (ICl) -----> **kábó íntabén útá kúlúnalab-ta (FDCl.Lp) koong boó moóbáb (ICl)** (DX) 'what did you buy that pig with'

kábó boóyó ilo koob' ée-ta (FDCl.Lp: you break-for-him that and) íntabén túub moolantémáb (ICl: what will-you-pay with) -----> **kábó boóyó ilo koob' ée-ta (FDCl.Lp) íntabén kú (NDCl.Lp) moolantémáb (ICl)** (DX) 'if you break that (borrowed thing), what will you pay for it with'

2.7 ANALYTICAL PROBLEMS

The Paratactic Construction presented considerable problems of analysis. It has been described here as constituting a syntactic level in between the Clause and the Dependent Construction. However, two other analyses were considered before this one was adopted.

Should the Paratactic Chain, together with the Clause that follows it, all be regarded as a single compound Clause or as a sequence of Clauses? The former analysis was put forward by Watson 1966 for similar structural phenomena in Pacoh of Viet Nam. However, Pacoh has the lower-level structural feature that non-verbal as well as verbal clause-level units of various kinds may occur more than once in the Clause. Telefol does not have the repetition of any clause-level Unit, so the foundation for setting up a compound Clause is missing here, and the Chain has therefore been analyzed as a sequence of non-finite Clauses.

This raises a second question. Where do these non-finite Clauses fit in the total sequence that makes up a Sentence? Are they of the same rank as Homopersonal Finite Dependent Clauses whose Predicate is marked by **-nVI**, or are they of lower rank? The skipping of a Paratactic Chain for purposes of postclitic agreement suggests that it is of lower rank, but the occurrence of a minority (about 1/5) of non-finite forms followed by the postclitic **-ta** throws doubt on this analysis. These latter forms have been tentatively included with the finite forms at the next level, since they enter into postclitic agreement and since they are not linked by parataxis. But they do not fit there much better than in the Paratactic Chain. The fact that the

whole non-finite Paratactic Chain is homopersonal, whereas Finite Homopersonal Dependent Clauses are part of a Chain of mixed homopersonal and heteropersonal sequences also suggests a rank difference.

In text materials, non-finite Homopersonal Clauses are more frequent than finite Homopersonal Clauses marked by **-nVI** in a proportion of 3:2. Perhaps this reflects the closer relationship between the actions of a single actor, as compared with the looser relationship between the actions of various actors, represented by mixed homopersonal and heteropersonal finite sequence. But the problem of when a Homopersonal Clause will be non-finite and when finite has not been solved. So, for the present, non-finite Homopersonal Dependent Clauses paratactically linked together have been left as a separate level in the grammatical hierarchy.

In heteropersonal sequences, neutral tense forms are far more common than <-'bVI> forms, in a ratio of 7:2. The <-'bVI> forms occur both with and without interval marker, whereas interval is not shown in neutral forms, but apart from this fact the author can offer no explanation as to why two alternate heteropersonal forms are used, why the <-'bVI> forms are so rare, or what is the semantic difference, if any, between them.

3. THE INDEPENDENT CHAIN

3.1 THE INDEPENDENT UNIT

The repeating Unit in an Independent Chain is an Independent Unit (*IU*) manifested by a Dependent Construction (*DX*) which consists of an independent Clause (*ICl*), or a Dependent Chain followed by an Independent Clause with or without an associated Paratactic Chain. Any basic Clause Type may manifest an Independent Clause Unit, although it is uncommon for an Equational Clause to follow a Dependent Chain. The Dependent Construction may therefore be represented by the following formulae, progressively simplified:

$$\begin{aligned}
 DX &= \pm (\pm NDCI.L\phi^n + FDCL.L\phi)^n \pm NDCI.L\phi^n + ICl \\
 &= \pm (\pm PC + FDCL.L\phi)^n \pm PC + ICl \\
 &= \pm FDU.L\phi^n \pm PC + ICl \\
 &= \pm DC \pm PC + ICl
 \end{aligned}$$

A minimal *DX* is a single Independent Clause.

The Dependent Construction has several important features, which are related to the fact that its final Clause is an Independent Clause. The Predicate of an Independent Clause (apart from the Equational) has one of the following morphological shapes:²⁷

+ stem + tense + negative + subject
 suffix suffix suffix

+ stem + mood
 suffix

 potential

+ stem + subject
 suffix

A Finite Dependent Predicate followed by the postclitic **-ta** also occasionally occurs in place of an Independent Predicate, where it has an intentional meaning similar to one of the meanings of the future, abilitative, and potential tenses, with the additional implication that another action will follow the intended act.

tálníli-ta (*FDCl.Lp* = *ICl*) (*DX*) 'I'll go (and do it)'

... **boótá kanúbe bokob'kéelán oó akenili-ta kalé** (*FDCl.Lp.Lc* = *ICl.Lc*:
 "I-will-tell-you this" I-want-and so) **tinángku' boóm' saláb-tá**
 (*FDCl.Lp*: you-will-be-hearing-it-and-later)... '... I want to tell
 you about this so that you can hear it...'

bokob'néenala-ta bá kale (*FDCl.Lp.Lc* = *ICl.Lc*: he-would-not-tell-me
 and so) **maakálo daák iiná** (*ICl*: he-left) (*DX*) 'he left without
 telling me'

In addition, an Independent Predicate may contain a Phrase Modifier, such as **bá** 'not', 'don't', **bínim** 'not', 'never', **úmak** 'any', **tab** 'perhaps', and **noo** 'also'. And if the Independent Clause is the final Clause of a Sentence, it may be followed by a Sentence Terminal, such as **koo** 'statement indicator', **áka** 'interrogative indicator', **a** 'interrogative indicator' (after an interrogative word), **a** 'imperative indicator' (after potential tense form, etc.), etc.²⁸

The Independent Clause, therefore, signals tense, mood, negation, doubt, etc. The following Sentence Terminal signals statement, question, and command. All of these meanings apply to every preceding Clause within the Dependent Construction manifesting the Independent Unit.

tál ungkwaá kwééb úníb (*IU*: come kill-it get-it they-went) **áka** (*Lt*:
 interrogative) (*IX*) 'Did they come and kill it and take it away?'

bilíb íyó dokob'éenilib-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: they how-did-they-do-it and) **tál**
ungkwaá kwééb unómib bá (*IU*: come kill-it get-it they-could-not-go)
 (*DX*) 'they couldn't possibly have come and killed it and taken it
 away'

The Independent Unit is also a Unit of chronological sequence. Chronological order, like tense, negation, affirmation, interrogation, command, etc., does not automatically carry back over an Independent Chain linkage (*Lc*) to the preceding Independent Unit.

3.2 A DEPENDENT CONSTRUCTION AS NOUN PHRASE NUCLEUS

A Dependent Chain followed by an Independent Clause constitutes a Dependent Construction (*DX*, see section 3.1). The Dependent Construction may manifest the Nucleus of a Noun Phrase.²⁹ When such a Clause sequence occurs in a Noun Phrase, and especially where its minimal manifestation, a single Independent Clause, occurs, it is frequently internally indistinguishable from the same Dependent Construction occurring elsewhere. It can, however, be identified by certain external features - the occurrence of Noun Phrase Laterals with it, especially the occurrence of a Pronoun as Person, or **umdií** 'if', '-ever'.³⁰ A Pronoun or **umdií** is obligatory, except where the *DX* is manifesting an Equational Predicate or where it is embedded in a Noun Phrase Nuclear expansion.³¹

In each following illustration, the Noun Phrase nuclear *DX* is enclosed in square brackets, the Laterals in its Phrase are italicized, and the clause-level Unit it manifests is shown at the beginning before the hyphen.

Time Unit - [**daák** *oó* **tolóntema** (*IU*: left he-will-return)] **boóyó** (*it*)
bokob' *mántémí* (*ICL*: when-he-returns I-will-tell-him) (*DX*) 'when he returns I'll tell him'

Possessor (within Noun Phrase) - [**koóyó** *ki* **itábom'** *bilí* (*FDCL.Lp*: this-is-about I-saw-them) **sinám** *ílim* **mak** *dínelib* (*FDCL.Lp*: they-fought with clubs) **támsii** (*ICL*: I-saw)] **úmi** *sàng* **útá** (*its* account) **bókolán** (*ICL*: I-will-tell about-a-club-fight-I-saw) (*DX*) 'I'll tell you about a club fight I witnessed'

Complement Unit - [**kanúbe** *ákán'* **bíli** *ámeba* (*IU*: seeing I-scolded-him he-cried)] **ulútáb** (*like-it*) **kéebe** (*ICL*: he-is-doing like-he-cried-b-cause-I-scolded-him) (*DX*) 'he is crying as though I had scolded him'

Location Unit - **beéyó** [**nalámí** *ímáníláng* **keesii** (*ICL*: I-made my garden)]
kokol (*at-there*) **soóntemá** (*ICL*: he will-sleep at-the-garden-I-made)
 (*DX*) 'he'll sleep at the garden I made'

Object Unit - [**koong** *maak* **kuléb** *tál* **káábman** *ímí* **daám** *téem* **toomin** (*IU*: get some pigs come put-them inside the government's fence)] **boóyó** (*it*) **kúb'** *kaálín* (*ICL*: you-stop bringing-pigs-onto-the-government-compound) (*DX*) 'you must stop bringing your pigs onto the government compound'

Object Unit - [**kúlál** *óo* **kakela** (*FDCL.Lp*: "you-take-it" he-said-to-you) **utám'** *saláb* (*ICL*: you-heard-it)] **umdií** (*whichever*) **tée** **daák** **kwééb** **únaal** (*IU*: go-down get-it you-go whichever-pig-he-told-you-you-could-take) (*DX*) 'take whichever pig he told you you could take'

Time Unit - [**kanúbe** *amkan* **únú** (*ICL*: seeing good-weather goes)] **umdií** (*if*) **asón** *sân* **úyó** **fákálantemálí** (*ICL*: I-will-not-plant the vegetable

seed if-the-dry-weather-continues) (DX) 'if the dry weather continues I won't plant the vegetables'

Equational Subject, Equational Predicate Units - [tanúm atábom' bilí (FDCL.Lp: I-saw a man) stúa dalátá koónála mufekmufek dúkúse yóó akésii (ICL: "he broke into the store and stole things" I-told)] umdií (whoever) [yák ku tálánbe (ICL: he-is-coming across-there)] beétá (that) (DX) 'the fellow whom I told you I saw break into the store and steal things is the one coming across there'

There are also a few internal features which may be present, and which help in the recognition of a DX as Nucleus of a Noun Phrase:

(a) If the DX contains a Dependent Chain, the DC usually lacks postclitic linkages, as described and illustrated in section 2.34 and in some of the examples immediately above.

(b) Within the DX as Noun Phrase Nucleus, one non-predicate clause-level Unit may be terminated by a -mí series Pronoun as Person. This Unit is usually either Subject or Object, which are elsewhere commonly marked by -ó or -tá series Pronouns. The Unit marked by a -mí series Pronoun may be viewed as functioning ambivalently at two different levels - as a clause-level Unit within the DX (such as Subject or Object), and as a phrase-level Unit - namely Possessor in the Noun Phrase Nucleus whose possessed head is the rest of the DX.³²

Object Unit - níyó [beémí kanúbelá (ICL: he did)] úyó (1t) utámintém (ICL: I did-not-see what-he-did) (DX) 'I didn't see what he did'

Object Unit - [íbmí weéng bakan' bílib (ICL: you are-talking)] boóyó (1t) bokob' néelín (ICL: you-tell-me what-you-are-talking-about) (DX) 'tell me what you are talking about'

Subject, Complement Units - [beémí tíñnemin (ICL: he walks)] úyó (1t) [aáláb ileb tíñnemin (ICL: his-father walks way) ulútáb (like-it) keebe (ICL: he-does his-walk like-the-way-his-father-walks) (DX) 'he walks like his father'

(c) Any of the actual or potential clause-level Units within a DX as Noun Phrase Nucleus may be the semantic focus of the Noun Phrase containing the DX.³³ The focussed item may be identified by one or more of the following:

- (1) The semantic nature of the wider linguistic context might indicate the focussed item.

Subject Unit - [ise káyaam koong aabom únánuba (IU: that dog is-always-killing is-always-eating pigs)] iyó (1t) toob Kúbelénam kal koong maak ung koó únélá (IU: that-dog-that-is-always-killing-and-eating-pigs killed ate a pig down at Kubelenmin) (DX) 'the dog that is always killing and eating pigs has killed and eaten a pig down at Kubelenmin'

- (11) The person-number-gender of the Pronoun as Person terminating the Phrase might indicate the focussed item. If the time of the action or the action as a whole is in focus, a third person singular feminine Pronoun is used.

Object Unit - [atúk átuk kee' balab (ICl: you-are-half-hearted)] úyó (it) kúb' kaánálab-ilé (FDCl.Lp: you-stop being-half-hearted and) (DC) 'stop being half-hearted...'

Object Unit - ise yák [nakal dóosi (ICl: I-myself planted-it)] beétá (that across) ang koólál (ICl: you-chop-down that-across-there-that-I-planted) (DX) 'chop down that one across there that I planted'

- (111) A Noun may occur in apposition with the DX within the Noun Phrase.

Object Unit - [baab ímí nuuk yeemin (ICl: my-elder-brother hunts possums)] bakan úyó (ground it) kafalet' néebá (ICl: he-showed-me where-my-elder-brother-hunts-possums) (DX) 'my elder brother showed me where he hunts possums'

Possessor (within Noun Phrase) - [nímí koong itá maak ang koólantema (ICl: someone will-kill my pig)] tánum ímí koong iyó maak tabóntemálá (ICl: someone will-not-miss the pig of-the-man-who-kills-my-pig) (DX) 'the pig of the man who kills my pig won't escape'

Destination Unit - ileb úyó [siin nalámí yáng íinóm utám únsii (IU: I went along saw-it went before)] kéng téle (via along-the-path-here) úní (ICl: I-go along-the-path-I-went-along-before) (DX) 'I'm going along the path I used to use before'

- (iv) A -mi series Pronoun terminating the Object indicates Object focus, and terminating the Subject usually indicates that the action as a whole is in focus.

Object Unit - [boómí utámab (ICl: you-saw it)] úyó (it) noo bákamin bá (IU: go don't-tell what-you-saw) (DX) 'don't go and talk about what you have seen'

Time Unit - [kábmí utámab (ICl: you saw-it)] úyó (it) noo bákamin bá (IU: go don't-tell when-you-see-it) (DX) 'when you see something don't go and talk about it'

Time Unit - [ímí kaanse (ICl: he died)] úyó (it) seéb kákal boóm' bilí-tá (FDCl.Lp = ICl: I-was in the bush when-he-died) (DX) 'when he died I was in the bush'

Manner Unit - beéyó [nímí at ílanubi (ICl: I always-cut-firewood)] ulútáb (like-it) ílanbe (ICl: he-is-cutting like-I-always-cut-firewood) (DX) 'he is cutting firewood like me'

3.3 LINKAGE BY CONNECTIVE

Independent Units may be linked together into an Independent Chain by means of a Connective or Connective Phrase. This linkage is shown by the symbol *Lc*. Chains may be of considerable length. In text, from 1 to 8 Independent Units have been observed in a single Chain. The Independent Chain may therefore be summarized by the formulae, progressively simplified:

$$\begin{aligned} IC &= [\pm (\pm NDCL.L\phi^n + FDCL.L\phi)^n \pm NDCL.L\phi^n + ICL.Lc]^n \\ &= [+ DC \pm PC + ICL.Lc]^n \\ &= IU.Lc^n \end{aligned}$$

nítá bínolanakin kútá (*ICl.Lc*: I would-have-shot-it but) **toob**
bíkílintém kále (*ICl.Lc*: was-not-guarding below and) **koó dúb'kaáli**
mitámbii tfiná koo (*IU.Lt*: I-let-it-go coming-towards-(me) it-went-past statement) (*IX*) 'I would have shot it, but I wasn't on guard below, and I let it go past.'

tanum beémí wín úyó utámsa kútá (*ICl.Lc*: he-knows the man's name but)
bokob'noómá bá kále (*ICl.Lc*: he-won't-tell-me and) **fúlmalá koo**
 (*ICl.Lt*: he-concealed statement) (*IX*) 'He knows the man's name, but he wouldn't tell me, he concealed it.'

níyó utámintém kále (*ICl.Lc*: I do-not-know-it but) **ise tanum beéta**
utámsa kále kanúbe (*ICl.Lc*: this man knows-it and seeing)
bokob'kée-ta tálbá káláa mín kakómá kwa (*IU.Lt*: tell-you and "saw he-came or" he-can-tell-you discourse-terminal) (*IX*) 'I don't know, but this man knows and can tell you whether he came or not.'

Across the linkage *Lc* is an Independent Chain, change of subject is unmarked, except that, of course, the subject-person suffix on each finite Independent Predicate shows what its subject is. There is no equivalent however, of the preview marker in the Predicate of a Finite Dependent Clause.

However, there are relationships which do cross the linkage. The Independent Clauses, which are the heads of each Independent Unit in the Chain, tend to show agreement in tense across certain Connectives, and there may be a significant syntactic relationship between the series of Pronouns included in the Phrase manifesting the Subject Unit of each Independent Clause in an Independent Chain.

3.4 THE CONNECTIVE PHRASE

Up to three Connectives may be strung together in a Phrase. This Phrase may be concluded by the emphatic Phrase Modifier **ki**, **kimín**. The whole Phrase constitutes the linkage (*Lc*) between the Units in an Independent Chain. The following Connectives enter into the Connective Phrase.

aá	'furthermore'
álé	'on the other hand'
belé	'or'
boôlé	'then', 'next'; 'if' (contrary to fact - with intentional tenses)
dí	'perhaps', 'maybe'
kalé	'so', 'and', 'but'
kanúbe	'unless', 'seeing'
keébe	
kúta	'but'
mín	'and' (?)
mínte	'and', 'in addition'
nimnám	'if' (contrary to fact - with other than intentional tenses)
saák	'even so', 'though', 'nevertheless', 'despite'
tám	'and' (?)
tămtá	'therefore', 'because' (with preceding Clause)

The relative ordering of these Connectives within a Phrase is diagrammed in Table E.

Table E

kalé	álé	boôlé	tám	ki
		mínte		kimín
kútá		kanúbe		
nimnám		keébe		
tămtá		dí		
belé		saák		
aá		mín		

The Connectives in the first column are the PRIMARY Connectives. With the one exception of **álé**, which may co-occur with **kalé**, they are mutually exclusive in their occurrence in the Phrase. They may, however, co-occur with one or more of the SECONDARY Connectives in the second column, and with **tám**. They are vertically arranged in order of their potentiality for co-occurring with secondary Connectives. That is, **kalé** is the most versatile in its co-occurrence, while **belé** usually occurs alone. The secondary Connectives may each occur alone, as do the primary Connectives, but they may also co-occur with a primary Connective and/or other secondary Connectives. They are arranged in a mildly preferred order of occurrence in the Phrase, but

this order is by no means fixed. As has already been shown in section 2 5, certain secondary Connectives occur following a postclitic in a Dependent Chain. There they modify the semantic force of the postclitic. In the Connective Phrase they modify the semantic force of the primary Connective, if there is one.

Of all occurrences of primary Connectives, 70% are **kalé** and 20% **kutá**. All of the Connectives may manifest a linkage (*Lc*) alone, except **saák**, which always follows at least one other Connective.

beéyó tanúm afálik kalé (*ICl.Lc*: he is a big man and) **kún kub bikisa koo** (*ICl.Lt*: he is strong statement) (*IX*) 'He is both a big and strong man.'

únelantemálá kalé (*ICl.Lc*: he-will-not-eat and) **sal kub dínánbe** (*ICl*: he-is-playing just) (*IX*) 'He's fooling instead of eating.'

katabíb kále (*ICl.Lc*: they-saw-you and) **kándóntemíb koo** (*ICl.Lt*: they-will-marry-you statement) (*IX*) 'They have seen you and they will marry you.'

ákán kolóntemíb kále (*ICl.Lc*: they-will-be-scolding-him so) **únelantemálá koo** (*ICl.Lt*: he-will-not-eat statement) (*IX*) 'He won't eat it lest they scold him.'

atámintém kále (*ICl.Lc*: did-not-see-him and) **waántá tálá úmak a** (*ICl.Lt*: who came any interrogative) (*IX*) '(I) didn't see who came.'

úlaá kuláb kále mínte (*IU.Lc*: seize you-took-her and in-addition) **kábkál ook mín am mín ileb boó utámabom-ta balab-tá** (*DC = IU*: you-also looking-after the work, house, and road and you-will-be and) (*IX*) 'now that you've taken her back, you can take care of the work, house, road, etc. all by yourself'

tanúm beéyó Ingbilimnok itá kále tám (*ICl.Lc*: the man was Ingbilimnok and and) **kamaá kí imí kalél úyó tám bókonala-lé** (*FDCl.Lp*: first he said to his wife and) 'the man was Ingbilimnok. Now first he said to his wife...'

moonii úyó kweékál belélábii moo kwééb táláb kalé saák (*IU.Lc*: wasting money there buy get-it you-came and even-so) **únelál a** (*ICl.Lt*: you-must-eat imperative) (*IX*) 'Seeing you've wasted your money on this you'll have to eat it even so (i.e. if it's bad).'

meet baalus ábiib boóyó afálikén kalé kanúbe (*ICl.Lc*: the airstrip up there is big so seeing) **baalus afálik úyó tál abómú kwa** (*IU.Lt*: a big plane can come down discourse-terminal) (*IX*) 'The airstrip up there is big enough for a big plane to land.'

yák siin maak umí wiik koótá atámsii kalé dí (*ICl.Lc*: I-saw-it the other week but maybe) **koótá noo atámál a** (*IU.Lt*: now go you-must-see-it imperative) (*IX*) 'I saw it the other week, but you'd better go and look at it now.'

- imák iyó tímitím kútá** (*ICl.Lc*: the husband is tall but) **kalél útá duúmaát koo** (*ICl.Lt*: the wife is short statement) (*IX*) 'The husband is tall but his wife is short.'
- imák iyó talba kútá** (*ICl.Lc*: the husband came but) **ímán úyó fuub' mîntém** (*ICl*: didn't-cook-for-him food) (*IX*) 'Even though her husband came (home) she didn't cook him any food.'
- baalut úyó tolónákin kútá** (*ICl.Lc*: the plane would-have-come but) **ííb búkúlu-ta kulálú koo** (*IU.Lt*: clouds blocked and it-left-it statement) (*IX*) 'The plane would have come but the clouds blocked it.'
- kanúbe bokob' nóomib kútá** (*ICl Lc*: seeing they-can-tell-me but) **unómí bá** (*ICl*: I-cannot-go) (*IX*) 'Even if they invited me I wouldn't go.'
- talintem kee' nama kútá** (*ICl.Lc*: he-can't-come but) **nókól weéng úyó bóko' numúb koo** (*ICl.Lt*: we-also can-talk statement) (*IX*) 'If/ though he can't come, we can talk about it.'
- kanúbe máfák úmolintem kútá mînte** (*ICl.Lc*: seeing hadn't-become sick but in-addition) **tilíntém áka** (*ICl.Lt*: didn't-come interrogative) (*IX*) 'He wasn't sick and yet he didn't come!'
- tanúm máak kaanba kútá saák** (*ICl.Lc*: a man died but even-so) **átol dákán' bilíb kuba** (*ICl.Lt*: they-are-holding dances emphatic-statement) (*IX*) 'Even though a man died they still hold dances.'
- máfák kútá dí saák** (*ICl.Lc*: it-is-bad but maybe even-so) **kwééb ílán** (*IU*: get-it I-will-carry) (*IX*) 'Even though it's no good I'll bring it.'
- máfák kútá mín saák** (*ICl.Lc*: it-is-bad but and even-so) **únelantémí koo** (*ICl.Lt*: I-will-eat statement) (*IX*) 'Even though it's bad I'll eat it.'
- kiíyaáb iyó tál ábiib talba kútá** (*ICl.Lc*: the patrol-officer came to the village but) **bokob' nóomá bá kále** (*ICl.Lc*: he-could-not-talk-to-me and) **kúb' kaábá koo** (*ICl.Lt*: he-left-it statement) (*IX*) 'The patrol officer came to the village, but he left without saying anything to me.'
- kalél úyó kanúbe ímán ku fuub' éelu boôlé** (*ICl.Lc*: seeing his-wife cooks-for-him taro if) **úne' namá kwa** (*ICl.Lt*: he-can-eat discourse-terminal) 'If his wife cooks him taro he can eat it.' (*IX*)
- yák kanúbe tala boôlé** (*ICl.Lc*: seeing he-came across then) **únelantémá kwa** (*ICl.Lt*: he-will-eat discourse-terminal) (*IX*) 'Seeing he's come (hungry), he shall eat it!'
- tílintem keelu boôlé saák** (*ICl.Lc*: she-didn't-come if even-so) **meet-ta feenbii-ta kulaá tolómí koo** (*IU.Lt*: go-up and wait-a-while and leave-it I-can-come statement) (*IX*) 'Even if she hasn't come I'll go up and wait for a while and then come back.'

kiíyaáb tébenala waákuu oó akela úyó binim nimnám (*ICl.Lc*: the officer refused - it wasn't if) **ang koólib koo** (*ICl.Lt*: they-killed-him statement) (*IX*) 'If the officer hadn't refused they would have killed him.'

kanúbe weéb úyó malaák ábemsu nimnám (*ICl.Lc*: seeing the rain fell if) **ú únsii kalé** (*IU.Lc*: plant I-went but) **weéb bínim keelu-ta kúb'kaa únsii koo** (*IU.Lt*: the rain finished and left-it I-went statement) (*IX*) 'If it had rained I would have done some planting and gone, but there was no rain so I went without doing it.'

weéb bínim kee' numu boóilé (*ICl.Lc*: it-could-not rain if) **nuuk úyó dubák koob'móomi kútá** (*IU.Lc*: I-can-hunt possums but) **weéb afék útá tébe-ta ileb úkaa kwaab' néebu koo** (*IU.Lt*: heavy rain cut my road statement) (*IX*) 'If it hadn't rained I would have hunted possums, but heavy rain prevented me going.'

kiíyaáb noo tolóntemí yoó akéba kalaá aketa feen alubub úyó binim nimnám (*ICl.Lc*: "I will come" the officer said" heard and we-were-waiting-it-wasn't if) **daák iinbí kwée** (*ICl.Lt*: I-left exclamatory) (*IX*) 'If the officer hadn't said he was coming and we hadn't waited for him, I would have gone (long ago)!'

kanúbe máfák úmolintem kee'nimi boóilé (*ICl.Lc*: seeing I-couldn't-become-sick if) **flángdiib unomi kútá** (*ICl.Lc*: I-could-go to the garden but) **máfák úm' boómniili-ta kale** (*FDCl.Lp* = *ICl.Lc*: I-got-sick so) **am álbi koo** (*ICl.Lt*: I-am at home statement) (*IX*) 'If I hadn't got sick I could have gone to the garden, but I got sick so I stayed home.'

boóyó kúbmí belé (*ICl.Lc*: that is yours or) **nímí ya** (*ICl.Lt*: it-is-mine interrogative) (*IX*) 'Is that yours or mine?'

beéyó tolong belé ki (*ICl.Lc*: he is deaf or) **kábó bokob' éelintém a** (*ICl.Lt*: you did-not-tell-him interrogative) (*IX*) 'Is he deaf or didn't you tell him?'

amsín kanumansib úyó tinángkúbáb belé (*ICl.Lc*: yesterday you-heard them-do or) **tinángkúbaláb a** (*ICl.Lt*: you-did-not-hear interrogative) (*IX*) 'Did you hear them do it yesterday or not?'

Ilibtaman kasel íbmí aket úyó kamákán' bilíb belé ki (*ICl.Lc*: you Eliptamin people are-thinking or) **kanúbe ílúm ílum keem'nák' bilíb kále** (*ICl.Lc*: seeing you-are-wandering-off so) **tám-tá bokob' ée tílín oó akelib belé a** (*IU.Lt*: go-up tell-you "they-will come" you-say interrogative) (*IX*) 'Are you Eliptamin people thinking this way, or are you wandering off (and showing no interest) and so you've asked them to go up and talk to you (about it)?'

boóyó kakíneng belé (*ICl.Lc*: this is scolding-you or) **kamtúlineng bá kále** (*ICl.Lc*: it isn't gossiping-about-you but) (*IC*) 'this isn't scolding you or gossiping about you, but...'

boóyó ki waasman ímí weéng belé mínte (*ICl.Lc*: this is the pastor's word or in-addition) **íyó waámí weéng bá kale kimín** (*ICl.Lc*: it is not whose word but) **boóyó ki...** (it is...) (*IC*) 'this isn't what the pastor or anyone else said, it's...'

It has become usual for people using the tagmemic approach to set up sentence types on the basis of formal features of the kind exemplified here by the linkage of Independent Units by the above Connectives.³⁴ It is not useful to do this for Telefol. A Sentence in Telefol frequently contains a very long Chain of Independent Units, all of equal rank, and the binary sequence of Independent Units flanking a particular Connective linkage (*Lc*) are only two in the Chain. It is true that... **nimnám... kútá...** normally occurs only once in a Sentence, but it may be embedded in a Chain linked elsewhere by **kálé**, for example, which is of the same rank. The Connective Phrase **kálé álé** 'but on the other hand' also seems to occur only once in a Sentence, but it too is frequently embedded in a Chain elsewhere linked by **kálé** and/or **kútá**. Diverse linkages within a single Chain are common, as many of the examples already given in this section illustrate.

... **oó akela nimnám boôlé** (*ICl.Lc*: ... he-said if then) **súkuul keebom-ta átín dákaá kulúli kúta boôlé** (*IU Lc*: staying at school and I really understood-it but then) **kamákelá kále** (*ICl.Lc*: he-said-this so) **kúb'kaá daák íinóntemí koo** (*IU.Lt*: leave-it I-will-go-away statement) (*IX*) 'If he had said... I would have stayed at school and really understood, but he said this, so I'll leave.'

níyó máfák kúb álbi kále (*ICl.Lc*: I am very sick so) **unóntemáí kále álé** (*ICl.Lc*: I-will-not-go but on-the-other-hand) **kabdé támbaliím kúb áláb kále** (*ICl.Lc*: you are very well so) **noo oonalab-ta tál-tá úmí úmí utám tolóntemab úmí sâng úyó bokob'néelab-ta tinángkúlantémí koo** (*IU.Lt*: go you-turn-and come-and you-tell-me about all you will see so I-will-hear statement) (*IX*) 'I'm very sick and can't go, but you are very well, so you can go and come back and tell me all about it so that I can hear it.'

It may be possible to set up pairs of Independent Units flanking a particular linkage as contrastive Construction types, but these pairs of Units do not manifest an identifiable higher-level Unit in the language any more than contrastive homopersonal and heteropersonal sequences do in the Dependent Chain. Further, it has not been possible to set up a consistent co-ordinate/subordinate dichotomy for *Lc* linkages, or to attribute the Connective to one Unit rather than the other.

There is one type of Connective linkage which does not enter into the Connective Phrase, namely (... **eé**) ... **eé** ... **ee** 'either... or ...'. These occur singly as linkages, but are normally repeated at

least twice in an Independent Construction, once after each successive Independent Unit. The Phrase Modifier **tab** 'perhaps' usually follows the final **ee**. The fact that a Phrase Modifier follows only the last Independent Unit plus linkage raises the question as to whether the sequence should be regarded as a single co-ordinate Clause rather than as an Independent Chain. Additional evidence favouring the former analysis is the fact that the linkage follows each Independent Unit, including the last one, in the same manner as Connectives do in Noun co-ordination.³⁵

kamáno toloma yeé (*ICl.Lc*: today, he-might-come or) **amsábtá toloma yeé** (*ICl.Lc*: tomorrow he-might-come or) **kaáltá toloma yee** (*ICl.Lc*: the-next-day he-might-come or) (*IC*) 'he might come today or tomorrow or the next day'

kábtá unomab eé (*ICl.Lc*: you can-go or) **nítá unomi yee tab koo** (*ICl.Lc.Lt*: I can-go or perhaps statement) (*IX*) 'Either you or I can go.'

níyó utámintém kále (*ICl.Lc*: I do-not-know and) **tala yeé** (*ICl.Lc*: he-came or) **tilintem ee úmak tab kwa** (*ICl.Lc.Lt*: did-not-come any perhaps discourse-terminal) (*IX*) 'I don't know whether he came or not.'

3.5 INTRA-CHAIN AGREEMENTS AND RELATIONSHIPS

3.51 TENSE AGREEMENT ACROSS A CONNECTIVE LINKAGE

For the most part a Predicate of any tense may precede a Connective, one of any tense may follow it, and any tense combination is possible across a Connective. There are, however, a very few restrictions and trends that should be noted.

The same tense occurs throughout a sequence co-ordinated by ... **eé** ... **ee** 'either... or...' (see section 3.4 above).

The contrary to fact Connective **nimnám** tends to be flanked (preceded and followed) by past tense forms, and contrary to fact **boôlé** tends to be flanked by future/intentional tense forms. The Constructions containing **nimnám** and **boôlé** nevertheless have the same meaning. See the examples in section 3.4.

The Connective Phrase **kále álé** 'but on the other hand' tends to be flanked by intentional tense forms, and always one is positive, the other negative. In contrast, **kútá** 'but' may be flanked by any combination of tense forms, and only about half of the Clause combinations are one positive, one negative.

níyó féén unóntemáli' kále álé (*ICl.Lc*: I truly will-not-go but on-the-other-hand) **kábtá féén unóntemáb koo** (*ICl.Lt*: you truly will-go statement) (*IX*) 'I can't go so you had better go.'

beétá féén kaa'namá kále álé (*ICl.Lc*: that truly can-die but on-the-

other-hand) **maak beé kaa'namá bá** (*ICl*: that other cannot-die) (*IX*)
'That one might die but that other one wouldn't.'

ímán úyó únélómnála-ta weéng úyó bákamantémá kále álé (*IU.Lc*: he-has-eaten food and he-will-be-talking but on-the-other-hand) **ímán únélintem boóyó weéng úyó bákamantemálá koo** (*ICl.Lt*: if he has not eaten food he-will-not-be-talking statement) (*IX*) 'When he's eaten he'll talk, but if he hasn't eaten he won't talk.'

3.52 SYNTACTIC RELATIONSHIPS INDICATED BY PRONOUNS

The **-tá**, **-siik**, **-lé**, **-kál** and **-kal** series of Pronouns are significant indicators of inter-clause relationships in Clause sequences, especially within the Dependent and Independent Constructions, but also between Sentences.³⁶

A **-tá** series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(a) marks the Subject Unit within the final Independent Clause of a comparative, adversative, or alternative sequence, where the subject differs from that of preceding Clauses. The Subject Unit of the preceding Clause, if present, is marked by an **-ó** or **-tá** series Pronoun.

ímák íyó tímitím kútá (*ICl.Lc*: the husband is tall but) **kalél útá duúmaát koo** (*ICl.Lt*: the wife is short statement) (*IX*) 'The husband is tall but his wife is short.'

ímák íyó tímitím kále (*ICl.Lc*: the husband is tall and) **kalél útá duúmaát koo** (*ICl.Lt*: the wife is short statement) (*IX*) 'The husband is taller than his wife.'

ímák ítá únela-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: the husband ate and) **kalél útá únélintem keélú koo** (*ICl.Lt*: the wife did-not-eat statement) (*IX*) 'The husband ate but his wife didn't.'

ímák íyó weéng bákaa'balá-lé mínte (*FDCl.Lp*: the husband was-talking and in-addition) **kalél útá meén sóok fákaa'bulu noo** (*FDCl*: the wife was-making a bag strap also) **kee'bilíb koo** (*ICl.Lt*: they-were-doing statement) (*IX*) 'The husband was talking while his wife was making a bag strap.'

álob unóntemalib kútá (*ICl.Lc*: you two will-not-go but) **nítá álob unómúb kwa** (*ICl.Lt*: I two we-can-go discourse-terminal) (*IX*) 'He won't go with you, but I'll go with you.'

fik beéyó ímán únáng'kála úyó weéng úyó bókolantemálá kalé (*ICl.Lc*: the elder brother does-not-talk while he eats but) **niing beétá ímán únáng'kála úyó ímán únboamnala-lé mínte weéng báka'boom noo keemnúbá** (*ICl*: the younger brother eats and talks at the same time as he eats) (*IX*) 'The elder brother is quiet while he eats, but the younger brother talks while he eats.'

Sóol ítá dééb unum eé (*IU.Lc*: get Sol we-will-go or) **Félebnok ítá**

dééb unum ee tab koo (*IU.Lc.Lt*: get Felebnok we-will-go or perhaps statement) (*IX*) 'I might take either Sol or Felebnok with me.'

kábtá unomab eé (*ICl.Lc*: you can-go or) **nítá unomi ee tab koo** (*ICl.Lc Lt*: I can-go or perhaps statement) (*IX*) 'Perhaps either you or I could go.'

(b) It marks the Subject Unit of the last Clause in a Dependent or Independent Construction where there has been a series of different preceding subjects, all marked by a **-siik** series Pronoun.

kamókím ísiik weéng bákánbii kúb'kaála-lé mínte (*FDCl.Lp*: first the headman speaking stopped and in-addition) **ólóbénengaal ísiik bákánbii kúb'kaála-lé mínte** (*FDCl.Lp*: next Olobenengal speaking stopped and in-addition) **Tanúmtélengaal ítá bákánbe koo** (*ICl.Lt*: Tanumtelengal is-speaking statement) (*IX*) 'First the headman spoke, next Olobenengal spoke, and finally Tanumtelengal is speaking.'

(c) In a Conversation Discourse, it marks the equivalent clause-level Unit in replies to 'who' questions.

beéyó waántá ya (*QS*: that is who interrogative). **Félebnok ítá koo** (*RY*: it is Felebnok statement) 'Who is that?' 'It is Felebnok.'

waántá ímán koó únebá ya (*QS*: who ate this taro interrogative). **nímí mán ítá únebá kwa** (*RY*: my child ate statement) 'Who ate this taro?' 'My child ate it.'

A **-siik** series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(d) marks the Subject Unit of the first and other non-final Clauses in a sequence where the subject changes with every Clause, as in the example under (b) above. It has the meaning 'first', and 'next' or 'in turn'. This commonly occurs in a reported conversation, where the first speaker as Subject Unit is marked by **-siik** and the last one by a **-kál** series Pronoun. A **-siik** series Pronoun may also mark the onset of a reported discourse by a single speaker as Subject Unit.

ísiik bokob'éenala-lé.... oó akan'kala koo (*IU Lt*: he began to say-to-them and.... he-said statement) (*IX*) 'He began to address them. "...." he said.'

Félebnok ísiik bókonala-lé.... oó akela-lé mínte (*DC*: first Felebnok said and.... he said and in-addition) **íbkumal íkíl múngkúb kamáke noo keémíb koo** (*IU.Lt*: his-friends spoke similarly also statement) (*IX*) 'First Felebnok said "....", and his friends spoke similarly in their turn.'

maak ísiik.... oó akela-lé mínte (*FDCl.Lp*: first one... said and in-addition) **maak yákál.... oó ake uná talá keémíb koo** (*IU.Lt*: another.... they-said-to-one-another statement) (*IX*) 'First one and then another said "....".'

A **-lé** series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(e) marks the Subject Unit of the second Clause of an adversative sequence. The Subject Unit of the first Clause may be marked by a **-siik** series Pronoun or another **-lé** series Pronoun.

unóntemálí kále álé (*ICl.Lc*: I-will-not-go but on-the-other-hand)

kabdé támbaliím kúb álbáb kalé (*ICl.Lc*: you are very well so)

unóntemáb koo (*ICl.Lt*: you-will-go statement) (*IX*) 'I can't go but you are well so you had better go!'

ibdé dam kutám úyó díkín tít' bílib-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: you keep-on-gardening the main part up there and) **nilé malaák kakám boótá utámantémí koo** (*ICl.Lt*: I will-look-for a spot down here below statement) (*IX*) 'You keep on making your gardens up there and I'll make mine down here.'

kub' kaálab-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: you-leave-her and) **tiíng ísiik kúla-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: your-elder-brother (can)-marry-her and) **kabdé mínte tán** (*ICl*: you are young) (*DX*) 'you leave her alone so your elder brother can marry her; you are young'

Dukun bíl úní yóó akan' kali-ta mínte (*FDCl.Lp*: "I'm-going to Dukun Hills" I-said and in-addition) **ilé Mitákum bíl úní yóó akanbe koo akenala-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: "'I'm-going to Mitakum Hills' he-is-saying" he-thought and) **úmbá koo** (*ICl.Lt*: he-went statement) (*IX*) 'I said I was going to Dukun Hills but he thought I said I was going to Mitakum Hills and he went (there).'

A **-kál** series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(f) marks the Subject Unit of a non-initial Clause in which there is a change of subject. The earlier subjects, especially the first, are often marked by a **-siik** series Pronoun. The **-kál** series Pronoun indicates that the new action by the new actor is similar to and in series with the actions of previous actors represented in the sequence of Clauses. Two examples under (d) above illustrate this.

(g) It constitutes the Subject Unit in a non-initial Clause in a homopersonal sequence, where the subject previously had another form. The previous indication of the subject may have been simply the subject-person suffix on the Predicate of a preceding Clause, or it may also have been manifested by a Possessor in a Noun Phrase, or other pronominal form embedded within a Noun Phrase. The Pronoun **-kál** appearing late in a homopersonal sequence indicates further action by the same actor.

kanúbe ibsó nisó oo ábiib mikik unóntemúb kalé (*ICl.Lc*: you and I will go to another village so) **noo kokol nákal weéng úyó bákaa' eebom noo kee' bili-ta unúm uú** (*IU.Lt*: I will-tell-them there too and let-us-go imperative) (*IX*) 'Let's go on to another village so that I can tell them too.'

kanúbe ilíbmí feéngmin boóyó kúb' kaánilib-ta (*FDCl.Lp*: seeing you-

leave your sin and) **aket díkiít móolib-ta boôlé** (*FDCl.Lp*: you-change (your)-minds and then) **God íyó íbmí feéngmin úyó kúb'kaab'mâ-ta** (*FDCl.Lp*: God will-leave-for-you your sin and) **íbkíl bábtisim keélin a** (*ICl.Lt*: you must-be-baptized imperative) (*IX*) 'If you leave your sin and change your minds, then God will forgive you your sin, and then you should be baptized.'

A **-kal** series Pronoun in the Person Unit of a Noun Phrase:

(h) marks the Subject Unit of the second Clause of a sequence in which the subject of the first Clause has become the unspecified object of the second. This happens when the first Clause manifests the Nucleus of a Noun Phrase as well as when the first Clause is sequential.

dook ítá ifákákanbe kalaá akenilib-ilé (*FDCl.Lp* "Whoever harms-us" you-know and) **ibkil bééten kee'eebom doóng dákaa'eemin** (*IU*: you-yourself praying help-them) (*IX*) 'You ought to pray for whoever you know is harming you.'

kanúbe tanúm bulúb íyó ibsó suúnkúb boómib kalé (*ICl.Lc*: there are always poor people with you so) **ibkil teleleb'múm oó akomib boôlé kanúbe** (*ICl.Lc*: you-yourself "we-should-be-kind-to-them" can-want then seeing) **ibkil teleleb'móomib koo** (*ICl.Lt*: you-yourself can-be-kind-to-them statement) (*IX*) 'There are always poor people around you, so you can be kind to them if you want to.'

4. THE SENTENCE

4.1 THE SENTENCE UNIT AND SENTENCE CHAIN

The repeating Unit in a Sentence Chain is a Sentence Unit (*SU*), which may be manifested by an Independent Construction (*IX*) consisting of an Independent Clause, or an Independent Unit, or an Independent Chain followed by an Independent Unit, all followed by a Sentence Terminal (*Lt*). The Independent Construction may therefore be represented by the following progressively simplified formulae, in which *--In* represents a simultaneous feature of intonation:

$$\begin{aligned}
 IX &= \pm [\pm (\pm NDCl.L\phi^n + FDCl.Lp)^n \pm NDCl.L\phi^n + ICl.Lc]^n \\
 &\quad \pm (\pm NDCl.L\phi^n + FDCl.Lp)^n \pm NDCl.L\phi^n + ICl.Lt \text{ --In} \\
 &= \pm [\pm DC \pm PC + ICl.Lc]^n \pm DC \pm PC + ICl.Lt \text{ --In} \\
 &= \pm IC + IU.Lt \text{ --In}
 \end{aligned}$$

The Independent Construction is potentially very large, as indicated by the above formula, yet it is minimally a single word - an Independent Clause consisting of a simple Verb as Predicate, or a single Noun or Noun Phrase Lateral Unit as Equational Predicate.³⁰ Within a narrative or discursive Discourse, however, the Independent

Construction may well last for five minutes.

Sentence Units are linked together into a Sentence Chain by means of a preceding Discourse Linkage (*Ld*). The Sentence Chain may therefore be represented by the following formula, progressively simplified as above:

$$\begin{aligned}
 SC &= \{ + Ld \pm [\pm (\pm NDCl.L\phi^n + FDCl.Lp)^n \pm NDCl.L\phi^n + ICl.Lc]^n \\
 &\quad \pm (\pm NDCl.L\phi^n + FDCl.Lp)^n \pm NDCl.L\phi^n + ICl.Lt \text{ ---} In \}^n \\
 &= \{ + Ld \pm [\pm DC \pm PC + ICl.Lc]^n \pm DC \pm PC + ICl.Lt \text{ ---} In \}^n \\
 &= \{ + Ld \pm IC + IU.Lt \text{ ---} In \}^n \\
 &= \{ + Ld + SU \text{ ---} In \}^n
 \end{aligned}$$

The Sentence Unit plus the linkage *Ld* plus Intonation *In*, that is, *Ld* + *SU* --- *In*, constitutes the commonest type of SENTENCE, namely the Dependent General Sentence. Sentences of this type comprise the bulk of any Discourse, and are the non-initial, non-final Units of it.

The Sentence Chain is preceded by a Discourse Opening Sentence (*OS*), which has special characteristics, and is followed by a Discourse Closing Sentence (*CS*), which usually ends in the Sentence Terminal **kwa**, which has a characteristic "winding down" intonation, and which may have other special characteristics. The DISCOURSE may be briefly summarized thus:

$$\text{Discourse} = + OS \pm SC + CS$$

4.2 SENTENCE TYPES

The Sentence has long been regarded by linguists as a complete, independent utterance, a unit of closure.³⁷ In Telefol, however, the vast majority of Sentences in any text are of a type that do not occur alone as a complete Discourse. All Sentences except the first Sentence of a Discourse obligatorily begin with a Discourse Linkage (*Ld*), which is not pertinent to the internal structure of the Sentence, but to the larger construction of which it is a part. The Discourse Linkage is pertinent as one of the mechanisms whereby the Sentence Unit is linked into a Sentence Chain, and eventually a Discourse. Sentences are usually terminated by a Sentence Terminal (*Lt*), a deeply-falling intonation /./ which does not occur elsewhere within the Sentence, and a pause. The Sentence Terminal has structural pertinence both within the Sentence and as a mechanism linking the Sentence Unit into a Sentence Chain and Discourse. Within the Sentence, it indicates statement, interrogation, command, etc. for all the Clauses of the final Independent Unit. It may also indicate whether the Sentence is final or non-final in a Discourse, and whether the anticipated response to it, if a question, is of the 'yes/no' type or the more specific type. The final indicative Sentence in a Discourse is usually terminated by **kwa**; non-final indicative Sentences are usually terminated by **koo**.

The Sentence Terminals (*Lt*) are as follows:³⁸

	NEUTRAL	CALLING, FAMILIAR	CASUAL, IMPATIENT	EXCLAMATORY, DISMAY	SHORT QUOTATIVE (<i><he></i> said)
<i>STATEMENT INDICATORS:</i>					
Sentence	--	uu	--	ée	oó
Sentence	koo	kuu	kuú	--	--
Discourse	kwa	--	--	kwée	--
Emphatic	kuba	kubuu	kubuú	kubé	kubóo
Emphatic	--	--	súkúbuú	súkúbe	--
Sympathetic	aa	--	--	--	--
<i>INTERROGATIVE INDICATORS:</i>					
Alternative or Substitution	a	uú	--	ée	oó
Yes/No	áka	ákuú	--	--	ákoó
Yes/No	belé ya	belé yuú	--	belé yée	belé yoó
Yes/No	belé ki	--	--	--	--
<i>IMPERATIVE INDICATORS:</i>					
General	a	uú	--	--	oó
Strong	éit	--	--	--	--
Strong	ehé?	--	--	--	--
Pleading	ehée?	--	--	--	--
<i>VOCATIVE INDICATORS:</i>					
'Hey!'	aa	úuú	--	--	--
'Here, take it!'	éee	--	--	--	--

After a word with final vowel, those Terminals listed above with initial vowel have allomorphs with additional initial *y*, e.g. general imperative *a ~ ya*.

The Sentence Types which begin a Discourse do not usually contain a Discourse Linkage (*Ld*). Similarly, many of the Sentence Types that begin utterances (little Discourses) in Conversation do not contain a Discourse Linkage. These Sentences are complete in themselves, and are termed Independent Sentences. One such Sentence, if it also has the discourse-closing features described above, manifests the minimal Discourse; it may even be a single word.

Most Sentences in text are clausal, containing a Sentence Unit which is minimally manifested by an Independent Clause. There are, however, a few types of non-clausal Sentences.

The basic Sentence Types of Telefol, including the clausal-non-clausal dichotomy, have been set up on the basis of contrast in two or more internal features. Sub-types of these, including the independent/dependent dichotomy, have been set up on the basis of contrast in one internal feature and in external distribution. Table F gives contrastive formulae for the basic Sentence Types and for their dependent modifications.

Table F

SENTENCE TYPES	INDEPENDENT	DEPENDENT
<i>CLAUSAL:</i>		
General	$\pm IC_1 + IU_1.Lt_1 --In_1$	$+ Ld \pm IC_1 + IU_1.Lt_1 --In_1$
Imperative	$\pm IC_1 + IU_2.Lt_2 --In_1$	$+ Ld \pm IC_1 + IU_2.Lt_2 --In_1$
Prohibitive	$\pm IC_1 + IU_3 --In_1$	$+ Ld \pm IC_1 + IU_3 --In_1$
Alternative Interrogative	$+ IC_2 + IU_1.Lt_3 --In_1$	$+ Ld + IC_2 + IU_1.Lt_3 --In_1$
Substitution Interrogative	$\pm IC_1 + IU_4.Lt_3 --In_1$	$+ Ld \pm IC_1 + IU_4.Lt_3 --In_1$
<i>NON-CLAUSAL:</i>		
Vocative	$+ H_1.Lt_4 --In_1$	
Nominal Imperative	$+ H_2.Lt_2 --In_1$	
Saying Imperative	$+ H_3.Lt_2 --In_1$	
Nominal Interrogative	$+ H_4 --In_2$	
Exclamatory	$+ EU --In_1$	

4.3 INDEPENDENT CLAUSAL SENTENCE TYPES

4.31 THE INDEPENDENT GENERAL SENTENCE has the shape $\pm IC_1 + IU_1.Lt_1 --In_1$ where IC_1 is any Independent Chain, IU_1 is manifested by any

type of Independent Construction other than those whose final Clause contains a potential tense form as Verb in the Predicate, Lt_1 is any Sentence Terminal other than imperative indicators **a**, **uú**, **ihí?**, and it is occasionally missing, and In_1 is either the final deeply-falling intonation **/.** or, more rarely, the emphatic high-falling intonation **/!.**

(a) The Independent INDICATIVE Sentence. Most of the Independent Construction (*IX*) examples in section 3 are Independent Indicative Sentences, ending in Lt : **koo**, **kuba**, **kwa**, **uu**, or no Terminal.

Independent Indicative Sentences also include replies to statements:

dam kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'That's the root of the matter.' 'That's it.'

aáfén kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'That's true.' 'That's right.'

kabkal kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'You be the one!'

boómí makám kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'That's the reason.' 'That's why.'

They also include replies to Substitution and Alternative Questions:

boótá kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'That's it.'

ti boótá kub kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'That's enough.'

Alumeyok íta kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) '(It's) Alumeyok.'

nímí mán íta únebá kwa. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'My child ate it.'

Most of the Dependent Construction (*DX*) examples of sections 1 and 2 become Independent Indicative Sentences by the addition of a Sentence Terminal Lt : **koo**, **kuba**, **kwa**, **uu**, or no Terminal:

kwééb nóo kúba' silíb koo. ($IU_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'They took her and buried her.'

úne kulaá koóbá koo. ($IU_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'He's finished eating.'

tálnála-ta ang koólu kaánsé koo. ($IU_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'He came and committed suicide and he died.'

koong kwaab' númu túlú koo. ($IU_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'She sent the pig to me.'

(b) The Independent NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE Sentence contains a customary continuative Verb form in the Predicate followed by Phrase Modifier **bá** 'not', and optional Lt : **koo**. This is the usual form of the negative command.

bákamin bá. (ICl_1--In_1) 'Don't say it!'

bákamin bá koo. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Don't say it!'

(c) YES/NO QUESTIONS are identical to Independent Indicative Sentences, except that the Sentence Terminal is **áka**, **áka uú**, **belé ki**,

belé ya, or **a**. They anticipate a 'yes/no' reply. By far the commonest of these, and the most neutral in meaning, is **áka**. The Terminal **a** does not occur frequently with these Questions; it is the commonly-occurring Terminal for Substitution and Alternative Questions.

seéb únáb áka. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Are you going to the bush?'

beéyó kábmí kaáláb áka. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Is he your father?'

koong úyó kutob kal álbú yáka. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Is the pig down there?'

kábó tinángkúláb belé ki. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Did you hear (or not)?'

kábó ímán soó belé ki. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Have you any taro (or not)?'

beéyó kábmí tííng belé ya. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Is he your elder brother (or not)?'

Identical forms as these Yes/No Questions sometimes have the semantic force of sarcastic opposite statements or commands.

(d) The clausal Independent EXCLAMATORY Sentence is usually brief, but otherwise differs from the Independent Indicative Sentence only in being terminated by one of the exclamatory Sentence Terminals **ée**, **kwée**, or **aá**:

usaáb ée. **usaáb aá.** ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Sorry!' 'Too bad!'

neébá yée. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Help!' (lit. 'It-has-hit-me!')

kanub' kóomú kwée. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'You'll cop it!' (lit. 'It-can-happen-to-you!')

tálaang ée. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'It's slippery!'

yaan ée. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Oh, my foot!' (I've spiked it)

támbál bá kwée. ($ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'It's no good!'

4.32 The INDEPENDENT IMPERATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $\pm IC_1 + IU_2.Lt_2 --In_1$ where IU_2 is manifested by an Independent Construction whose final Clause has (a) a potential Verb form; or (b) a Finite Dependent Verb form + **-ta**; or (c) an unaffixed punctiliar Verb stem, as Predicate without Phrase Modifiers; and one of the 'imperative indicators' **a**, **uú** or **ehé** occur as Lt_2 . However, **a** alone occurs with type (c). The Terminal is not obligatory. An Independent Imperative Sentence is usually a single-sentence Discourse.

(a) The potential tense form is by far the commonest form of the Imperative. Set C subject-person suffixes occur in the potential tense.¹⁶

bókolál. (ICl_2--In_1) 'Say it!'

bókolál a. ($ICl_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Say it!'

kwééb únaal uú. ($IU_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Take it away!'

unúm uú. ($ICl_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Let's go!'

kwáálab únúk ehé. ($IU_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Throw it away!'

moónii úyó kweékál belélábii moo kwééb táláb kalé saák únelál a.

($IC_1 + ICl_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Seeing you've wasted your money on this
you'll have to eat it even so (i.e. even though it is bad)!'

yák siin maak úmf wfik koótá atámsii kalé dí koótá noo atámál a.

($IC_1 + IU_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'I saw it the other week, but you'd better
go and look at it now!'

(b) The Finite Homopersonal or Heteropersonal Dependent Verb form followed by postclitic **-ta** implies that a further event will follow obedience to the command.³⁹

bóko' baláb-tá ya ($FDCl.Lp = ICl_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Say it!' (and <I>...)

bóom' saláb-tá yuu ($FDCl.Lp = ICl_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Wait awhile!' (and <I>...)

(c) The punctiliar Verb stem form is not followed by Terminals other than **a**.

bóko ya. ($NDCl = ICl_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Say it!'

tál a. ($NDCl = ICl_2.Lt_2--In_1$) 'Come!'

4.33 The INDEPENDENT PROHIBITIVE SENTENCE has the shape $+ IC_1 + IU_3 --In_1$ where IU_3 is manifested by an Independent Construction whose final Clause contains a second person abilitative Verb form without Phrase Modifiers in the Predicate. This form is semantically negative imperative despite the lack of a negative morpheme.

bóko' namáb. (ICl_3--In_1) 'Don't say it!'

kanúbe kwiina úyó weéb malaák ábelú umdií tolómíb. (ICl_3--In_1) 'If
it rains this afternoon, don't come!'

4.34 The INDEPENDENT ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $+ IC_2 + IU_1.Lt_3 --In_1$ where IC_2 has **belé** as its final Connective (Lc), and only 'interrogative indicators' **a** or **uú** occur as Lt_3 . This Terminal is rarely missing. Alternative Questions anticipate as reply a choice of one of the alternatives.

beéyó kábmí tífng belé beémí fik uú. ($IC_2 + ICl_1.Lt_3--In_1$) 'Is he
your elder brother or his?'

koong úyó kutob kal álbú belé kweékál álbú ya. ($IC_2 + ICl_1.Lt_3--In_1$)
'Is the pig down there or across there?'

4.35 The INDEPENDENT SUBSTITUTION INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $\pm IC_1 + IU_4.Lt_3--In_1$ where IU_4 contains an interrogative word in some clause-level Unit, such as **dook** or **intab** as Nucleus of a Noun Phrase in one of the optional, non-predicate clause-level Units in the Sentence, or **dokonumin** or **intab numin** as Predicate of a Clause. The anticipated reply to a Substitution Question is minimally a substitute for the interrogative word.

boóyó waámí ímán a. (QS: $ICl_4.Lt_3--In_1$) 'Whose taro is that?'

nímí ímán kwa. (RY: $ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'It's my taro.'

dook íínáb uu. (QS: $ICl_4.Lt_3--In_1$) 'Where are you going?'

seéb úní uu. (RY: $ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'I'm going to the bush.'

boóyó íntabén a. (QS: $ICl_4.Lt_3--In_1$) 'What is that?'

koóyó ímán koo. (RY: $ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'This is taro.'

waántá oólánbe ya. (QS: $ICl_4.Lt_3--In_1$) 'Who is calling out?'

Alumeyok íta koo. (RY: $ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'It's Alumeyok.' OR

Alumeyok íta oólánbe koo. (RY: $ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'Alumeyok is calling out.'

dook koótá tálbáb a. (QS: $ICl_4.Lt_3--In_1$) 'When did you come?'

kamaá koótá tálbí koo. (RY: $ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'I have just come.'

kábó káyaam boóyó intab nu'yee' baláb a. (QS: $ICl_4.Lt_3--In_1$) 'What are you doing to the dog?'

dúbák koob' éelí koo. (RY: $ICl_1.Lt_1--In_1$) 'I'm chasing it.'

4.4 DEPENDENT CLAUSAL SENTENCE TYPES

Each of the above Independent Sentence Types has its Dependent counterpart, as shown in Table F. DEPENDENT GENERAL SENTENCES form the bulk of any Discourse, as has already been stated. The closing Sentence (CS) of a Discourse is often also a Dependent General Sentence which terminates with the Sentence Terminal **kwa**. The other types of Dependent Sentence, IMPERATIVE, PROHIBITIVE, ALTERNATIVE INTERROGATIVE, and SUBSTITUTION INTERROGATIVE, usually occur as the last Sentence of a Discourse, in place of a General Sentence marked by **kwa**. These do not normally occur in the middle of a Discourse, although a rhetorical question occasionally appears in mid-Discourse. The only Imperative Sentence observed in mid-Discourse is an Independent Imperative Sentence in a small parenthetical Discourse, such as: **unáng íbaa. síníng' kálin a.** 'Keep quiet, you women!'

The internal and terminal structure of Dependent Sentences is the same as that of their Independent counterparts. However, they

obligatorily begin with a DISCOURSE LINKAGE (*Ld*). By far the commonest Discourse Linkage is the Connective **kalé**, or a Connective Phrase beginning with **kalé**, which here seems to mean, 'Now...', 'So...'. Other Connectives less frequently occurring are **mínte**, **kanúbe**, and **tám**, each with apparently as weak a lexical meaning.

... **ibso dákamin bá koo. Kalé kooyo alúkum tinangkúlib...** 'don't dance with them. Now you've heard all this...'

... **sang útá bákamantémí koo. Kale tám kamaá kí... maakálo keelu-lé...** 'I'll tell you about... Now the first time it was lost...'

... **sang útá koo. Kale kanúbe tám mán íyó dééb talá talá keenilib-ilé...** 'It's an account of... Now they brought the lads together and...'

... **ábiib kokol kúbasúb koo. Mínte Málánibén aaniing íyó...** '... we hid her in that village. And her uncle Malaniben (said)...'

... **fitóm tebeb mântemálú koo. Míni kalé mínte maak ímí tanúm dééb únánbiyang daála...** 'he won't be ashamed. But if he takes a man of another family with him...'

As well as a Connective, or where there is no Connective, linkage is indicated by REPETITION of the last part of the previous Sentence. The repeated portion may take various forms:

(a) Most commonly, the final Independent Predicate of the preceding Sentence is repeated in dependent form. If this Predicate is complex, such as an Adjunct + Auxiliary or a periphrase, it is frequently only the tense-carrying Auxiliary that is repeated. Sometimes the actual final Predicate is replaced by a substitute Verb, such as the general **kanumin** or **keemin** 'do', or **kúb'kaá-** 'leave-it', 'stop doing'. The Quotative Verb **akan'kalin** is often repeated without its Quote. This Verb does not occur alone elsewhere.

... **oó akan'kalá koo. Akenala-lé...** '"..." he said. When he had said this...'

... **kwaamin bá koo. Booyo kúb'kaánlib-ilé...** '... don't sing it. Stop doing this and...'

... **tinangkómfb bínim. Keemnubib booyo kimín...** '... they haven't heard it. If they have(n't)...'

... **bákán uná talá keésib koo. Keenilib-ilé...** '... they discussed it. When they had done so they...'

... **sook ungkwásuu koo. Kalé ungkwálu-ta kaanu-ta...** '... she hung herself. She hung herself and died and...'

... **dákaá dééb Nínib bifi únslílib koo. Dákaá dééb únánbiyang Nínib bifi yangnílib-ilé...** '... they went to Ninip Hills. They went along to Ninip Hills and...'

(b) Sometimes the repeated fragment is larger, such as a full

repetition of the final Independent Unit of the preceding Sentence, followed in the new Sentence by a Connective, such as **kalé**. If the final Clause in the preceding Sentence is an Equation, it, or its Predicate, may be repeated, perhaps as a non-predicate Unit in a Clause with a verbal Predicate. Sometimes non-predicate Units from the final Clause of the Preceding Sentence are repeated along with the Predicate, but oftener they are not.

... **kalaá ake-ta kulásii koo. Kulásii kalé mínte...** '... I saw it and stopped it. I stopped it and...'

... **koo tíkkilá koo. Koo tíkkilá kále mínte kimín íse boómí sâng boó dook útá akómíb...** '... he has read it. He's read it and what does it say...'

... **boómí makám boótá bókobíb koo. Bókobíb kále mín...** '... they have told the reason for it. They've told it so...'

... **boómí sâng útá koo. Boómí sâng útá bákánbii kúb'kaábúb kále...** '... it was about... We've finished talking about this so...'

Bólolím beémí niing íta koo. Bólolím beémí niing íta tébe tákaá kwééb únánbii talá-lé... 'It was Bololím's younger brother. Bololím's younger brother carried her off and...'

(c) Instead of, or as well as, one of the above linkage devices, a Noun Phrase from the preceding Sentence, particularly a Subject Unit, may be repeated with a new Predicate to follow. In this case, the new Phrase often contains the antecedent Topic marker **ise**. Sometimes simply an Anuclear Phrase consisting of a Pronoun as Person preceded by **ise** occurs.⁴⁰ Very frequently the repeated Phrase is followed by the Phrase Modifier **ki** or **kimín**. The second example of the above set illustrates this type of linkage as well as type (b).

íse beéyó kimín... 'He (the person referred to before)...'

... **Atíkséb íta koo. Íse tanúm beéta...** '... it was Atiksep. This man...'

4.5 INDEPENDENT NON-CLAUSAL SENTENCE TYPES

Since the non-clausal Sentence Types contain only one or two Units, it has not always been possible to distinguish them by two sentence-level features. However, they are distinguishable by two or more features within their Head Units, and, of course, they have different distributions.

4.51 The VOCATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $+ H_1 Lt_4 --In_1$ where a General Noun Phrase or a Personal Name Phrase occurs as Head (H_1), and the Sentence Terminal (Lt_4) may be one of the following:⁴¹ **aa** 'vocative indicator', **úúú** 'vocative indicator' (calling), **ééé** 'Look!'

'Here, take it!' The Personal Name Phrase may be manifested by a Personal Name or Kin Noun alone. The Phrase does not contain a Phrase Modifier. A second person Pronoun as Person, if present, is fused with the Sentence Terminal:

kábaa	kábe	kâbuú	'you masculine singular'
kúbaa	kúbe	kûbuú	'you feminine singular'
íbaa	íbe	ibuú	'you plural'

The Vocative Sentence occurs first in a Discourse, most frequently in a Discourse embedded in a Conversation. Some oratorical Discourses, such as sermons, begin with a Vocative Sentence, and the Sentence containing the title formula comes second.

Íbaa. 'you (all)!'

Baásím uuú. 'Brother-in-law!'

Unáng íbe. 'You women!'

Âbén kúbaa. 'Mother!'

Alumeyok aa. 'Alumeyok!'

Unáng soó tanúm soó íbaa. 'Men and women!'

4.52 The NOMINAL IMPERATIVE SENTENCE has the shape + $H_2.Lt_2$ -- In_1 where a General Noun Phrase without Person or Phrase Modifier occurs as Head (H_2), 'imperative indicator' **a**, **uuú**, **ehé?**, **éit**, or **ehée?** obligatorily occurs as Lt_2 . The construction has meanings such as 'Bring me...!', and it tends to occur alone as a single-sentence Discourse.

Kaábák uuú. 'Hand me the axe!'

Kâ-hé? 'Hurry!' (lit. 'Here!')

Ímán ehée? 'Please give me some taro!'

Nímí meén kátib a. 'Pass over my small bag!'

Personal names, Kin Nouns, and certain Pronouns may also occur as H_2 with meanings such as '... do it!'

Alumeyok uuú. 'Alumeyok, you can go!'

Baásím uuú. 'You do it, brother-in-law!'

Kábkál a. 'You do it! I'm tired.'

Kábehé? 'Hurry up!' (fused form)

4.53 The SAYING IMPERATIVE SENTENCE has the shape + $H_3.Lt_2$ -- In_1 where any short Sentence may occur as H_3 , and only **a** 'imperative indicator' obligatorily occurs as Lt_2 . The meaning is 'Say, "...!"' and the construction occurs alone as a single-sentence Discourse.

Sii kwa ya. 'Say, "Good-morning!"'

Waákoo ya. 'Say that you don't want to!'

Mísám kwa ya. 'Say, "Thank you!"'

4.54 The NOMINAL INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE has the shape $+H_4 --In_2$ where a General Noun Phrase or a Personal Name Phrase terminating in an $-ó$ series Pronoun as Person without a following Phrase Modifier occurs as H_4 , and only the emphatic high-falling intonation $!!$ occurs as In_2 . It is a Yes/No Question and it occurs as a single-sentence Discourse.

Boóyó! 'Is that the one?'

Níyó! 'Do you mean me?'

Alumeyok beéyó! 'Alumeyok?'

Meet ábiib kumet úyó! 'When he was up in the village?'

Sukáni kánaat álob koóyó! 'These two old blade-arrows?'

4.55 The EXCLAMATORY SENTENCE has the shape $+EU --In_1$ where the Exclamatory Unit is manifested by a small class of Exclamations, some of which contain some extra-systemic phones. These include:

(a) SPONTANEOUS EXCLAMATIONS, which occur first in a Discourse, or constitute a whole Discourse.

ʔáe, ʔáíáʔ. 'Oh!' (suddenly remembering something forgotten)

bai. 'Too bad!' 'Sorry!' 'Oh!'

éé. 'Here!' (calling for attention)

ii. 'Don't!' (cry, etc., said to child)

kwiin ée. 'Ouch!' 'Bother!' 'Too bad!'

teelak ée. (as for **kwiin ee** - a common Tifal loan)

yákis. (as for **kwiin ee** - a rare Feramin loan)

yée. (as for **kwiin ee**)

(b) EXCLAMATORY REPLIES, which occur as first Sentence in a little Discourse response to Yes/No Questions or Imperatives, preceding the title formula, if there is one.

aa. mm. uu. (calling) 'Yes!'

áa. ááa. 'What did you say?'

ʔéééʔ. mmʔ. 'No!'

kálo. 'Let's start!'

ká ya. 'Right!' 'Let's do it!'

koo. 'Yes, that's right!'

umbae. bae. 'No!'

baes *. 'No (disgusted)!' (* = lateral click)

waákuu. 'I don't like it!' 'I don't want to!' 'No!'

4.6 THE QUOTE

The Quote Unit within a Quotative Clause may be manifested by a Sentence of any of the above Types, minimal or expanded, minus its Sentence Terminal *Lt.*⁴² Except in the speech of some of the older generation, the Sentence Terminal is replaced by the Quotative Marker **oó** or **kalaá**. However, there is one Terminal that always seems to remain - **áka** 'interrogative indicator' elides with the Quotative Marker **oó** to form **ákoó**.

koótá unóntemí koo. 'I'll go soon.' -----> **bokob'neenala-ta**
(**koótá unóntemí yoó**) **akélá koo.** 'He told me that he would go soon.'

íntabén nú' bilíb a. 'What are they doing?' -----> **dáká-tá**
(**íntabén nú' bilíb oó**) **akéláb belé ki.** 'Did you ask (him) what they are doing?'

dook koótá tolóntemáb a. 'When will you come back?' ----->
dákánála-ta (**dook koótá tolóntemáb oó**) **akélá koo.** 'He asked him when he would come back.'

kúlál a. 'Accept it!' -----> (**kúlál oó**) **akanbe koo.** '"Accept it!" he is saying.'

nímí titíl tébesu úyó maakálo keélú kuba. 'My strength is gone.'
-----> (**nímí titíl tébesu úyó maakálo keélú yoó**) **akenala-lé...**
'"My strength is gone," he said...'

5. THE DISCOURSE

The two main types of Discourse in Telefol are discussed here. These are the ORATORICAL DISCOURSE and the CONVERSATION. Letters and Christian prayers have the basic structure of an oratorical Discourse, but they are developing distinctive features of their own. The Conversation as a whole is a Unit with its own opening and closing features, but the individual utterances within a Conversation are mostly little oratorical Discourses with their own opening and closing features. It is possible that the Drama might be another type of Discourse, or it might be a variant of the Conversation. However, it only occurs in the men's house, and no records of it have been obtained. No records have been obtained of the old-style prayers either, though these have been overheard sufficiently to suggest that

they belong to a further separate type or group of types with their own very fixed characteristics. They include the mourning wail to the dead, prayer to the dead for the sick, for the growth of taro, for hunting, etc. Men's and women's songs used at dances are another type of Discourse with very different characteristics, including special vocabulary and lower-level syntax.

5.1 THE ORATORICAL DISCOURSE

The Oratorical Discourse includes all lengthy utterances by a single individual, such as narratives, how-to-do-it and why-they-do-it explanations, sermons, and the like. Letters and Christian prayers are deviating variants of it.

The general Oratorical Discourse is of the shape + OS + SC + CS, as described in section 4.1 above, and is characterized by the following features.

5.11 It's OPENING is marked by:

(a) A Discourse Linkage (*Ld*) is absent at the beginning of the first Sentence, except where a series of narratives are being told by the same speaker or different speakers.

(b) The first Sentence may be a Vocative.

(c) The first Sentence, or the second Sentence after a Vocative, is nearly always a variant of a TITLE formula.

(d) The Pronoun manifesting Person in the Subject Unit of the first Clause in the title Sentence is usually followed by the emphatic Phrase Modifier **ki** or **kimín**. Alternatively, if time is very much in focus, and a Time Unit begins the first Clause, **ki** or **kimín** follows the Time Unit.

Occasionally a Discourse begins without any such formal opening, as well as without a Connective.

The following Discourse openings are typical. The most minimal are given first, and the most expanded last. It is not uncommon for the title type, [DX] **úmí sâng**, to be very protracted, the Dependent Construction being an up to one-minute summary or *précis* of the account to be given subsequently.

<Nuuk> **boóyó ki...** (Phrase as Subject Unit) '<Animals>...'

Kamaá kí... (Phrase as Time Unit) 'Once upon a time...'

Nímí weéng ulé ki. . (Phrase as Predicate of Equational Clause)
This is my account...'

[DX] **sâng útá bákamán áka.** (DX as Possessor of Object) 'Do you want me to tell about...?'

Boómí sâng úyó dook útá akómáb kále... (Possessor of Subject of included Clause) 'You are wondering what this is about, well...'

Sáng koóyó ki [DX] úmí sâng útá koo. (DX as Possessor of Equational Predicate) 'This is an account of...'

Koóyó ki [DX] úmí sâng bákamán oó aketa koo. (DX as Possessor of Predicate of Equation as included Clause in Object) 'This story I'm going to tell you is about...'

Sáng koóyó ki [DX] úmí sâng kamákanubib útá ka álbú koo. (DX as Possessor of Predicate of Equation as Object of included Clause in Complement) 'Here is this story they always tell about...'

The alternative directional Pronoun **boóyó** 'that' may occur instead of **koóyó** 'this'. **weéng** 'word', 'account', or **makám** 'meaning', 'reason', 'explanation', 'origin' may occur instead of **sâng** 'story', 'account', 'about'. The future tense forms **bákamantémí** or **bókolantémí**, or the intentional dependent form **bókonilita** may occur instead of the potential tense forms **bákamán** and **bókolán**. All are translatable by, 'I'll tell you'.

5.12 The CLOSING of an Oratorical Discourse is marked by:

(a) The Discourse Terminal (*Lt*) **kwa** at the end of the last Sentence.

(b) A "winding-down" intonation over the whole of the last Sentence.

(c) The last Sentence is usually a variant of a FINISHING formula. As in the case of title formulae, the finishing formula may be a minimal Sentence, or it may be very considerably expanded.

(d) The penultimate Sentence is sometimes a brief reiteration or summary of the entire Discourse, or a restatement of the outcome of the story.

(e) The last Sentence often begins with **kalé**, like other non-opening Sentences. But **kalé** is omitted oftener here than in the middle of the Sentence Chain.

Occasionally a Discourse terminates abruptly, without any formal closure, apart from the Discourse Terminal **kwa** and the "winding-down" intonation.

The following typical Discourse closers are listed from the minimal type to the more complex.

(Kale) **boótá kwa.** '(And) that's it.'

Boótá kub kwa. 'That's all.'

(Kale) **ti kwa.** '(And) it's enough.'

Bíním kalé ti kwa. 'It's finished and it's enough.'

Kale weéng úyó boótá kub kwa. 'And that's all of the matter.'

Ti bókolí kwa. 'I have said enough.'

Kale weéng úyó binim keélú kwa. 'And the account is finished.'

Kale ti boótá kub keélí kwa. 'And I have done enough of that.'

Kale weéng úyó boótá kub bókolí kwa. 'And I've told you all there is of the matter.'

Ise boómí sâng útá bókolán óo akenili-ta bákánbii kalé sâng úyó ti bókolí kwa. 'That's the story I was going to tell you and have been telling you, now I've told you enough of the story.'

The letter begins with a greeting, as does a Conversation, or with a Vocative Sentence, in which the recipient is usually named:

Nûm aa 'My friend!'

Nûm kábaa 'My friend!'

Oó nímí nûm kábe. 'Oh, my friend!'

Nímí neék Alumeyok kábó... 'My cousin Alumeyok, you...'

Oó nûm Alumeyok kábó nuúbáb áka. 'Oh, my friend Alumeyok, how are you?'

Oó nímí nûm Alumeyok úlímal íbó nuúbíb áka. 'Oh, my friend Alumeyok, how are you and your family?'

Sometimes the writer announces his identity in the second Sentence:

Níyó kábmí duub Máákkis nítá koo. 'I am your friend Maakkis.'

More often, however, the signature is kept for the end. The penultimate Sentence is usually a closing Sentence of the type listed above for the Oratorical Discourse, or the signature and the closing Sentence may be fused into one Sentence.

Ti kwa. Níyó Máákkis koo. It's enough. I am Maakkis.'

Kale kákkum nímí weéng úyó bínímanú koo. Nímí wín úyó Máákkis koo.
'Now your friend's message is finished. My name is Maakkis.'

Weéng boóyó bíním kale ti bokob'kéelí koo. Níyó Máakséb nítá koo.
'The message has finished and I've told you enough. I am Maksep.'

Sometimes a closing greeting, such as ends a Conversation, is added:

Kale nûm úlímal sífn oó aketa koo. Níyó Máákkis nítá kále súukkón koóyó doólá koób'kéelí koo. Now good-bye, my friend and your family. I am Maakkis, the letter is written, and I'm giving it to you.'

Strangely enough, the Discourse Terminal **kwa** does not often appear at the end of a letter.

The Christian prayer is an innovation exhibiting equivalents of the opening and closing features of an English or Neo-Melanesian Christian prayer. It opens with a Vocative Sentence:

Nímí God kábaa. 'My God!'

Oó Áatúm God kábaa. 'Oh, Father God!'

Oó Áatúm God abiíl tíkiin kayaak kábaa. 'Oh, Father God, inhabitant of Heaven!'

It closes with the minimal Sentence:

Aáfén kwa. OR **Aáféntáb kwa.** 'It is true.' (= 'Amen.')

The Sentence Chain between the opener and closer is structurally the same as that of an Oratorical Discourse. It commences with a statement of theme, and the penultimate Sentence is usually a typical closing item as listed above.

5.2 THE CONVERSATION

The Conversation includes both informal conversations and formal group discussions such as are held in the middle of the village. Like the Oratorical Type above, it has characteristic opening and closing features. But most utterances within a Conversation are little Discourses in that they too have characteristic opening and closing features.

5.21 CONVERSATION OPENERS

A discussion may open as an Oratorical Discourse does, with a statement of topic, but an informal conversation usually begins with a GREETING back and forth, and a polite question or two. The greetings are idioms. A close and a functionally-equivalent translation will therefore be given for each example. Change of speaker is marked by □.

Núm saláb áka. □ **Kákkum sii kwa.** (Did you sleep, friend? □ Your friend slept.) 'Good-morning!' □ 'Good-morning!'

Úlím álbíb áka. □ **Úlím álbúb kwa.** (Are you there, father-and-child? □ Father-and-child are here.) 'Good-day, father and child!' □ 'Good-day!'

Núm álbáb áka. □ **Álbí kále nùm álbáb áka.** (Are you there, friend? □ I am here and are you there, friend?) 'Good-day!' □ 'Good-day!'

Úmdín nuúbíb áka. □ **Nuúbúb kwa.** (Have you been, in-laws? □ We have been.) 'How are you, in-laws?' □ 'We're fine thanks.'

Kamet fináb a. □ **Aa. Kamet íiní kwa.** 'Are you going up there?' □ 'Yes. I'm going up there.'

And there it frequently ends. If the replying party does not want it to end, he may omit the Terminal **kwa**. In any event, the conversation may go on from there.

5.22 CONVERSATION CLOSERS

During the day, if the parties are separating and going their various ways, they may end their conversation with:

Nûm tál boóm' baláb uu. ☐ **Uu. Nûm noo boóm' baláb uu.** (Stay awhile, friend! ☐ Yes. Go, friend!) 'Good-bye!' ☐ 'Good-bye!'

However, in the evening, or when parting for the last time in the day, friends voice an idiom corresponding to the morning greeting:

Nûm saal uu. ☐ **Uu. Soómí kále nûm noo saal uu.** (Sleep, friend! ☐ Yes. I'll sleep and you go and sleep!) 'Good-night!' ☐ 'Good-night!' OR 'Good-bye!' ☐ 'Good-bye!'

Nûmal meet ífo koólibta yuu. ☐ **Uu. Meet soómúb kále ífo koólabta yuu.** (Curl up up there, friends! ☐ Yes. We will sleep up there and you curl up, friend!) 'Good-night!' ☐ 'Good-night!'

Katob finón óo aketa kalé nûm meet saal uu. ☐ **Uu. Nûm toob saal uu.** (I'm going down now so sleep up there, friend! ☐ Yes. You sleep down there, friend!) 'I'll go on down now, so I'll say good-night.' ☐ 'Good-night!'

When someone is going away for a long period, the following may be said in parting:

Úlímál támbálim kúb noo biita tílín uu. ☐ **Uu.** (Keep well and come back later, family! ☐ Yes.) 'Keep well and come back again!' ☐ 'We will!'

5.23 LITTLE DISCOURSE OPENERS

A little Discourse is an utterance by an individual person during a Conversation. Initiating little Discourses are independent, while little Discourse replies are dependent.

(a) The following may occur as independent little Discourse openers:

- A Vocative Sentence, as described in section 4.51.
- An Exclamatory Sentence, as described in section 4.55(a).
- An opening Sentence, as described in section 5.11.

(b) The following may occur as dependent little Discourse openers:

- A Nominal Interrogative Sentence, as described in section 4.54, e.g. **Boóyó! Íse...** 'That one? Well, that...'
- An Independent General (Indicative) Sentence as reply, as described in section 4.31(a).
- An Exclamatory Sentence, as described in section 4.55(b).

5.24 LITTLE DISCOURSE CLOSERS

A little Discourse may close as an Oratorical Discourse does, or

it may close with:

An Imperative Sentence, dependent or independent, as described in sections 4.32 and 4.4. This is sometimes followed by an Independent General (Yes/No Question) Sentence (4.31(c)) such as, **Tinángkúlífb áka.** 'Did you hear?'

An Independent General (Negative Imperative) Sentence, as described in section 4.31(b), or more usually its dependent equivalent (4.4).

A Prohibitive Sentence, dependent or independent, as described in section 4.33 and 4.4.

A General (Yes/No Question) Sentence, dependent or independent, as described in section 4.31(c).

An Alternative Interrogative Sentence (4.34) or a Substitution Interrogative Sentence (4.35), dependent or independent.

An assertion (General Indicative Sentence - 4.31(a)) such as ... **kalé támbaliím kwa.** '... and that would be good.'

5.25 SINGLE-SENTENCE DISCOURSES

Single-Sentence Discourses may be independent or dependent too. The independent ones include:

All of the Independent Clausal Sentence Types described in section 4.3.

An Exclamatory Sentence, as described in section 4.55(a).

The dependent single-Sentence Discourses are the various types of reply:

Indicative replies as described in section 4.31(a).

Exclamatory replies as described in section 4.55(b).

A Nominal Interrogative Sentence, as described in section 4.54.

NOTES

1. The other four papers are: Phyllis M. Healey 1965a, 1965b, 1965c, and 1964. These papers are henceforth referred to as T.N.P., T.V.P., T.C.S., and T.Q.C. respectively. The Telefol language is spoken by about 4000 people in the vicinity of Telefomin, Sepik District, Territory of New Guinea. This paper is based on the results of field work carried out under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Australian National University between 1959 and 1965. 100 pages of tape-recorded and transcribed text were closely scrutinized for the paper. The texts involved a conversation, a group discussion, two sermons, several letters, and a number of narratives of various types. As much material again was screened to confirm findings, and a considerable quantity of material was elicited by Alan Healey to check various points. Of over 2000 Clause sequences examined, $\frac{2}{3}$ were Dependent and $\frac{1}{3}$ Independent. Thanks are due to Rosemary Young, Robert Litteral, S.A. Wurm, and Alan Healey for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

2. The publications which particularly affected the approach of this paper are: Pike 1954, 1955, 1960, 1962, 1963a; Longacre 1960ab, 1964.

3. This problem of levels is discussed in: Pickett 1960, p.91; Longacre 1960a, p.82 and 1964, pp.16-17, 74, 112-113, 132-133; Richard Watson, "Clause to Sentence Gradations in Pacoh", *Lingua* Vol.16, No.2 (1966), pp.166-188; Engel and Longacre 1963.

4. Repeated tagmemes are featured in Richard Watson, "Clause to Sentence Gradations in Pacoh", *Lingua* Vol.16, No.2 (1966), pp.166-188; Engel and Longacre 1963; Kooyers 1966.

5. The term CHAIN has been taken from McCarthy 1965. Her emphasis is on features of agreement and correlation between sequential Clauses. These features are present in Telefol too, except that preview subject person is not shown. But for Telefol the emphasis in the usage of the term CHAIN is on repeating Units and their linkages.

This concept of Chain has been taken up and further developed by Kooyers 1966. He gives the name LINK to a Chain plus the immediately following higher-level Clause or Unit. For Telefol the same thing has been called a CONSTRUCTION.

6. The term FINITE is used in this paper to mean "the Predicate contains subject person-number-gender suffixes". NON-FINITE therefore

means "the Predicate does not contain subject person suffixes". The terms FINITE and NON-FINITE have been used in the same sense, but without definition, in T.Q.C. Charts and section 1(c), and in T.V.P. sections 1, 3.3, and 4. The term HOMOPERSONAL means "same subject follows". It is more fully defined in section 2.2.

7. Clause Types are described in T.C.S. sections 1.1 and 3, and their dependent and benefactive modifications in T.C.S. section 1.22.

8. The Verb stem is described in T.V.P. section 1.

9. Verb prefixes are described in T.V.P. section 1 and T.C.S. section 2.2.

10. The orthography used in this paper is that recommended in Alan Healey 1964 section 11.2, except that hyphen is here used to mark morpheme boundaries rather than tonal sandhi. Tonal sandhi has been written phonemically throughout this paper. Consequently the same word may be written with 2 or even 3 different tonal patterns in different linguistic contexts.

11. There are other cases of parataxis in the language at other levels, but these are minority variants of constructions characterized by other types of linkage. See section 2.34.

12. These Verbs may also follow a Dependent Chain to indicate completion of a process, and for this reason they, with the preceding stem(s), have not been analyzed as a verbal periphrase similar to that described in T.V.P. section 4.5. Note that here and throughout the paper Verbs have been cited in the customary continuative form, which consists of continuative stem + customary suffix **-in**.

13. T.V.P. section 3.27 describes Adjuncts derived from this same group of Verbs by addition of the suffix **-kán** 'remove'.

14. This set of Verbs have a plural object, e.g. **dúkkomin** 'pick (many fruit)'. These all appear to be compounds containing the Verb **toomin** 'put them'.

15. The non-predicate clause-level Units are described in T.C.S. sections 1.1 and 1.3.

16. See T.C.S. section 2.1 for the full lists of subject-person suffixes.

17. This exceptional use of the homopersonal ending before a Clause of different subject is discussed at the end of this section.

18. See T.V.P. section 1, T.C.S. section 1.22 for descriptions of the Verb stem, and T.C.S. section 2.1 for a list of subject-person

suffixes. The Telefol tonal system is described in Alan Healey 1964a.

19. Tense is discussed in T.C.S. section 2.4.

20. The cause-and-effect usage of **-ta** may be distinguished from the general sequential usage in that **kalé** may be inserted following **-ta** in the former case, but not the latter.

21. The Associated Clause is described in T.Q.C. section 3.

22. This complex Adjunct is described in T.V.P. section 3.5.

23. The usage in Noun Phrases is described in T.N.P. sections 1.23 and 2.13.

24. There is one parallel case worth noting. Predicates involving punctiliar forms of the Verb **tébemin** in a subject-marking capacity (see section 1.41) are usually in a Homopersonal Dependent form - either the stem **tébe** (*NDCI*) or that stem plus **-nVI** plus a subject-person suffix (*FDCl*). However, in some cases these forms are interchangeable with the corresponding punctiliar neutral tense form plus **ta**, which would in other contexts be heteropersonal in significance.

25. The Quote is described in section 4.6. See also T.Q.C.

26. The Instrument Phrase is described in T.N.P. section 3.15. Its syntactic status is re-analyzed in T.C.S. section 1.3.

27. These Independent Verb forms are illustrated in T.V.P. section 1.

28. The full list of Sentence Terminals is given in section 4.2.

29. This phenomenon has been discussed and illustrated under the title of "Included Clauses" in T.N.P. section 1.26.

30. Noun Phrase Laterals are described in T.N.P. section 2. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section 2.16.

31. Noun Phrase nuclear expansions are described in T.N.P. sections 1.23-1.25.

32. Possession is described in T.N.P. section 1.21.

33. By "potential" Unit is meant one that could have occurred in that particular Type of Clause. The particular clause-level Unit in focus may tentatively be defined as that one whose Nucleus, when substituted for the whole *DX* as Noun Phrase Nucleus, produces the least shift in meaning of the total Noun Phrase.

34. See Engel and Longacre 1963; Lind 1964. Other papers, particularly those written in workshops under Joseph E. Grimes of the Summer

Institute of Linguistics, describe particular types of Clause linkage as "relationships", but they do not set up Sentence Types on the basis of it. See McCarthy 1965; Borgnan and Cue 1963.

35. Noun Phrase co-ordination is described in T.N.P. section 1.23.

36. Pronouns are described in T.N.P. section 2.16.

37. Bloomfield 1933, p.170 says, "each sentence is an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form." Waterhouse 1963 writes her article to confute this statement. Some have taken the matter up, and have written descriptions of Dependent and Independent Sentences, for example: Borgman and Cue 1963; Kindberg 1961; Eastman 1963. Pike 1954, Chapter 5 discusses "unit of closure". For him at that time the verbal unit of closure was the "uttereme", minimally a Sentence, maximally a conversation, but including (etically at least) speeches, sermons, songs, and the like. See also Pike 1955, p.71b. This same point of closure is also taken up as a characteristic of Sentences in Longacre 1964, pp.14, 125.

38. Sentence Terminals are also listed in T.C.S. section 4. They were called utterance terminals in T.Q.C.

39. See section 2.2 for the description of the Finite Homopersonal and Heteropersonal Dependent Verb. Section 3.1 describes this Independent usage.

40. Topic in the Noun Phrase is described in T.N.P. section 2.11, the Anuclear Phrase in T.N.P. section 2.

41. These Phrase Types are described in T.N.P. sections 2.1 and 3.11.

42. The Quotative Clauses are described in T.Q.C.

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